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Bishop PARKER'S X

HISTORY:

TORIES CHRONICLE,

FROM

The RESTAURATION of King CHARLES II.
1660, to the Year 1680.

In Four Parts, viz.

I. A short View of Affairs at the King's Return; his great Clemency, in the As of Oblivion, succeeded by continual Conspiracies. The Original of Venner's Herely, alias, Fifth-Monarchy-Men. Their Exploits. The Conduct and Character of Bishop Sheldon. The Ast of Uniformity suspended. The Dutch War; Pestilence; and Fire of London.

II. The English Fleet treacherously surprized by the Dutch, at the same time they were begging Peace. Characters of the Earls of Southampton, Shaftesbury, &c. A Tripple-Alliance between England, Sweden and Holland against France. The Seven deadly Sins of the Whig-Faction. The Second Dutch War. The Duke of York's Bravery. Peace between France and Holland.

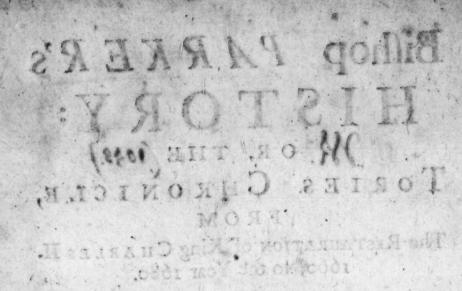
III. New Differences between

the French and Hollanders.
Dutch Insurrections. The two
DE WITS Massacred Ruptures between the Turks, Muscovites and Hungarians. The
surprizing Actions of Sobieski
King of Poland. The Plague
of Messina King Charles II.
discourages all Foreign Rebellions. The great Mischiess
which befel Europe by breaking the Tripple-Alliances

ing the Tripple-Alliances

IV. The Third Dutch War.
Sectaries abuse the King's Liberty of Conscience. Animosities fomented between his Majesty and the Parliament.
Earl of Clarendon Impeached. The Exchequer shut up. Fanaticks endeavour to set asside the Duke of York's Marriage. Warm Debates between the Lords and Cammons. Peace again made with the Dutch, &c.

Two Original Manuscripts of Sir Richard Granville; never before Published.



In Four Pairts viz.

View of ACtion of the French and Hollington.

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TO THE

READER.

BISHOP BURNET tells us, in the Hiflory of his Own Time, "That Gene"ral Monck was not the Restorer of
"Monarchy; but that all he did was chiefly
"owing to the Post he was in, and to the
"Credit he had gained: For as to the Restoration it self, the Tide ran so strong, that
"he only went into it, dexterously enough, to
"get much Fame, and great Rewards.—
He adds that, "If he had died soon af"ter, he might have been more justly ad"mired."

Monck's Fame will, it is thought, be immortal. But as to the great Rewards he acquired, they do not appear in his Last Will and Testament, a Copy of which hereaster followeth, viz.

To the READER.

GEORGE MONCK, Duke of Albemarle, devifeth by this his last Will and Testament, to his Wife Anne, Dutchess of Albemarle, half his Plate, and all his Jewels, to be by her enjoyed during the natural Term of her Life. The same, afterwards, to descend to his Son Christopher Lord Torrington, together with all his Estate, both Real and Personal, not otherwise Devised by former Deeds of Settlement. He likewise committeth the Tuition of Christopher Lord Torrington to the Care of his Mother, until he shall arrive at the Age of One and Twenty, or, become Married.

ALBEMARLE.

June 8: 1665





SOME

ACCOUNT

OF

Parker's L I F E.



UR, self-stiled, incontinent (voluminous) Scribler * was born at Northampton in the Year 1640. Samuel Parker was the Spawn of John Parker, who having been inured to Pettifoggings

was the Spawn of John Parker, who having been inured to Pettifogging; through all the dirty Work of the Law; "betook himself (says the Oxford Antiquarian) as his best

" Practice, to be a Sub-Committee Man, or as the Stile

ran, one of the Affistant-Committee in Northamp-

tonsbire in the Time of the Rebellion. Afterwards

fcraping up Wealth, and gaining Credit thereby, he became one of the Number of those that gave

" Sentence against Arthur Lord Capell, Robert Earl of

" Holland, and James Duke of Hamilton, who were

« all beheaded.

Here leave we the Father, and return to the Son, as being more material to our prefent Purpose.

Tanta molis erat.

As

^{*} Parker in his Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to his Defence and Continuation of Ecclesiastical Polity, says, I am reformed from my Incontinency of Scribling, &c.

" As for Samuel, continues Mr. Wood, he was by " the Care of his Parents, fevere Puritans and Schisma-" ticks, puritanically educated in Grammar-Learning " at Northampton, and being made full ripe for the " University, he was fent to Wadham Coll. At. 16. " Ann. 1656, where, under the Tuition of a Presbyterian Tutor, he did according to his former " breeding, lead a strict and religious Life, fasted, or prayed with other Students weekly together; and of for their Refection feeding on thin Broth, made of "Oatmeal and Water only, they were called Grewel-" lers. He went with his Clan once a Week, or oftener, to an House in the Parith of Halywell near their College, inhabited by Bess Hampton, an old " hump - back'd Laundry Maid; who, from her "Youth up, being very much addicted to Presbyet terianism, had frequent Meetings for the Godly Party, " especially for those that were her Customers. To " this House did Parker often resort, and was so zea-" lous and constant a Hearer of the Prayers and Ser-" mons there held forth, a Receiver of the Sacraments, " and fuch like; " that as Mr. Dryden fays, in the Hind and Panther,

Thus whiten'd with the Foam of Sanctity, He was esteemed a precious Saint to be.

"Upon the King's Return in 1660, being then Batchelor of Arts, (like a true Fanatic, ruminating which would be most for his Interest) he was for fome. Time at a Stand what to do, yet, notwithflanding he did pray, cabal, and discourse to obstruct Episcopal Government, Revenues and Authority; but being discountenanced in his doings, by Dr. Blandford, then Warden of Wadham College, he went from thence, Mr. Wood tells us, to Trinity College, and by the prevailing Advice of Dr. Bathurst,

" thurst", he became a most hopeful Convert, as his Conduct has manifestly shown.

"He avouched his Reformation in Print, and in 1663, proceeded Master of Arts as a grand Compounder, &c. Member of Trinity College, and af-

" terwards entering into Holy Orders, he was fre-

" quently in London, and became, as it is faid, Chaplain to a Nobleman, and a great Droller on the

& Puritans.

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Thus acting the Part of a Merry-Andrew on one Side, and that of a fawning Sycophant on the other, in 1665, he published his TENTAMINA de DEO, and dedicating them to Dr. Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury; infinuated himself, thro' all the Canails of the most sulfome Flattery, into the Favour of that great and good Man. "About that Time he became Fel-"low of the Royal Society, and in 1667 leaving Oxford for all together, he was made one of the Chap-"lains to the said Archbishop, being thereby put into the Road of Preferment.

"In 1670, he was installed Archdeacon of Canterbury, and the same Year, had the Degree of Doctor
of Divinity conferred on him at Cambridge. In
1672, he was installed Prebendary of Canterbury,
and had the Rectories of Ickham and Chartham
in Kent bestowed on him. In 1685, he resigned
his Prebendship to Dr. Bradford, and in 1686,
upon the Demise of Dr. John Fell, one of the most
pious and learned Prelates, that ever filled the See of
Oxford*, was substituted in his stead, thro' the well
known Corruption of those Times. Our Fanatical,
Anti-Episcopalian, Dr. Samuel Parker, had the Li-

^{*} Fellum & Aldricium, duo illa Reipublicæ nostræ Literariæ Lumina, mente contempler. Vid. Oratio. V. R. Fran. Atterbury, S. T. P. Hab. Oxon, die Admiss. ad Decanatam, Æd, Christi, 1711. Impensis H. Curll, 1722,

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berty allowed him to keep his Arch-deaconary in Commendam with it. The Year following King JAMES, fent a Mandate to elect Parker President of Mandalen College, Vi & Armis, contrary to the Statutes of the University. In the illegal Possession of this Post, he shortly after died. Thus he, who was bred a rigid Presbyterian; conformed, as being most for his Interest, to the Church of England; was ready cut and dried for a Papist, as is plainly manifest from the vile Reasons he published for Abrogating the Test. He had the Assurance to propose in Council, that, it was expedient one College (at least) in Oxford, should be under Catholic Tutors, that the Students might not be forced to be at such Charges in going beyond the Seas to Study. He likewise invited two Roman-Catholick Noblemen to a Banquet, drank the King's Health to an heretical Baron in Company, wishing a happy Success to all his Majesty's Affairs, and Parker added, that, the Faith of the Protestants in England, seemed to him, to be but little better, than that of Buda was before it was taken; and that they were for the most part Atheists that defended it. And Father Petre the Jesuit (Privy Counfellor to King Fames) gives this honest Character of Parker.

"The Bishop of Oxford (says he) has not yet declared himself openly: The great Obstacle is his
Wise, whom he cannot rid himself of, his Design
being (like the Vicar of Bray) to continue Bishop,
and only change Communion, as it is not doubted
but the King will permit, and our holy Father
(the Pope) confirm: Tho' I do not see how he
can be farther useful to us in the Religion in which
he is, because he is suspected, and of no esteem among
the Hereticks of the English Church: Nor do I
see that the Example of his Conversion is like to
draw many others after him, because he declared
himself so suddenly. If he had believed any Coun-

" fel, which was to temporize for some longer Time, he would have done better, but it is his Temper, or rather Zeal that hurried him on. *

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Among the Heap of those scurrilous Writings, with which he has pestered the publick, (his Pen being more filthy than the Fist of a Night-Man) it was the Opinion of that eminent Lawyer and pious Christian the Lord Chief Justice Hale, that Parker's Piece, called Ecclesiastical Polity, tended to the Injury of Religion it self, and he wished the Author would openly profess to write only for Himself, and no more so abusively pretend it is for the Canse of Religion.

As to the Controversy between him and Mr. Marvell occasioned by the same Book, Ant. a Wood fairly owns, that, "it was generally thought, by those "who were otherwise Favourers of Parker's Cause, that he thro' a too loose and unwary handling of the Debate, laid himself open to the severe Strokes of his Adversary, and that the Odds and Victory lay on Marvell's Side: It likewise wrought, adds he, this good Effect upon Parker, that for ever after it took down the Insolence of his high Spirit, insomuch that he judged it more prudent to lay down the Cudgels, than to enter the Lists with Marvell a second Time.

The Body of this notable Prelate, converted from Presbytery to Popery, lies buried in the South-Ile, or outer Chapel belonging to Magdalen College. It were to be wished that this Legendary History of his Life and Times, had been buried with him; for I doubt not but upon a Perusal, it will be apparent to every judicious Reader, that by its Publication, his

† Baxter's Defence of the Nonconformists, part 2. pag. 187.

^{*} See the Collection of Papers, relating to the present juncture of Affairs in England 1688. part 3. pag. 17, 18.

Son has only raised a Monument of Insamy to his Father's Ashes. And whatever Notions may be entertained by the small Remnant of Anti-Revolutionists existing in this Island, they may be fully convinced, from our now happy Conjuncture of Affairs, that, no other Distinctions are likely to be heard of among us for the Future, but of those who are for the PROTESTANT RELIGION, and the PRESENT ESTABLISHMENT, and of those who mean a POPISH PRINCE, and a FRENCH GOVERNMENT. So that as we daily partake of those Blessings which the distaffected call King William's Legacy, we should be highly ungrateful to his Memory, did we not comply with this his last glorious Request.





Bishop PARKER'S HISTORY

OF

His Own Time.

BOOK I.



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HEN Charles the Second returned 1660, to the Kingdoms of his Ancestors, he was received with the Joy of almost all his Subjects, and we hoped for something more than Golden Days: and now the Esta-

blishment of Monarchy, the perpetual Peace of the Church, the Tranquillity of the Commonwealth,

wealth, which was entirely restored, and which might last as long, at least, as we and our Grand-children should live, were what every Man promifed to himfelf and his Family. For all the States of the Kingdom strove among themselves to augment the Dignity of the King, they fortified all such Places as were an Afriam for Treason, they renounced the solemn League and Covenant, which was the Oath or Test of the Presbyterians, and enjoined all the Subjects to renounce it; the Ducies upon Goods imported, as well as upon our own Manufactures, (from whence the Treason of former Times had fprung) they fettled, for the future, upon the King for his Life: they also gave him the power of making War, by Laws they reformed the Church, which was furnished with full Power and Authority; and lastly, every honest Citizen rejoiced that he had escaped the Infelicities of War, Attainder, and the Gallows; and the very Fanaticks and Traytors ran mad with the unexpected Joy that they should live: For what could more firmly establish the Throne, than the Restoration of the King, with the greatest Joy and Acclamation of the People, when the Treason was so fresh in their Memories? What could make the Government more free from the danger of Commotion, or rather Rebellion, (for there can be no War between the People of the same Commonwealth, at least where a King reigns, but the other Party, who are Enemies to the King, must be Traytors to a Man) than the great Power which all the States of the Kingdom consented to heap upon the King alone, especially those who had fought on his Father's fide, on account of Matters

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ters of the greatest moment? Finally, when the King himself, with almost unheard of Clemency, vanquished his Enemies by an Act of Oblivion; when the common People had long enough felt the Miseries of Rebellion; when Occasion, when the Ringleaders, when the People failed to stir up Sedition, and raise Tempests in the State, what elfe could we expect, than almost an heavenly Government? especially, when the Parricides of the best of Kings were punished, (though even the Lives and Blood of all of them were spared, who repented of their Wickedness, and submitted to the King's Mercy) it was lawful for all the rest to contract Friendship, and enter into one common Society, and that too, which ought to be the Interest of the Commonality of the same Country. that all Fear and Suspicion might be removed from all Men, every one's Honour and Estate were confirmed to him, without Mutilation by open Law: Afterwards, that the Memory of former Variance might be buried in everlasting Oblivion, all good Subjects were forbid to upbraid the wicked Agents of the former Times with what they had done. Nay, laftly, that the most stubborn Enemies might be in good hope that all things would be the more fecure. feveral of them were received into the King's Friendship, into the greatest Places at Court, and of the Revenue, and into the Privy-

But so ungrateful, like Snakes, is the Nature of Traytors, that they always repay good Furns with Stings and Poison: For when they began to get new Life under the King's Clemency, when every Man's Crimes were blotted out by an Act

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of Oblivion, when they perceived that their Possessions and Riches, acquired by War, (which as the Day before Yesterday they would have joyfully refigned, if so they might be suffered to live upon any terms whatever) would be given to them as the Wages of High Treason, they immediately became so malicious, that they fcattered their Venom thoughout all the Commonwealth, and endeavoured to dart their Stings in the very Breast of the King. And though for a long time they nothing prevailed, yet to lose their Pains can never be so great as to deter wicked Men from their ill Defigns against their Country. And some who had been too happy, acted so foolishly, being troubled in mind, that they feemed not to care if their own Houses were burnt, provided there was a

general Conflagration.

But of these things hereafter. There were others, who being deprived of all their Goods and Effates, which they got by Treason and Sacrilege, hoped that they should recover their ancient Honour, by destroying and turning the Commonweal upfide down. There were, for the most part, four forts of Men; the broken Officers of Cromwell's Army, the fighting little Preachers of the Gospel, the States of the late dismembred Senate, and lastly, all sacrilegious Persons, who let pass the Restoration of the King and Church, which was suddenly taken away from them. These presently, having privately conspired among themselves, entered into a League with that part of the Republick. which was averse to Monarchy. And to mapage the matter, they placed a great Council, composed of the Dregs of all their own Parties at d

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es at at London, who should govern the other Conventicles, which they had every where in all Towns and Villages. By which Familiarity and Acquaintance, if they had done nothing elfe, yet they attained this one great point, that they maintained the Secrecy of all their Factions among them, as they would their own Kindred. And they all plotted together by Agreement for close, and, as it were, almost glued together, that it did not feem to be fo much a Conjunction of Conspirators, as of Kindred and Acquaintance. And they travelled as Strangers up and down in their own Country, after the same manner that the Jews, who were expelled out of theirs, wander throughout the whole World. They judged it to be unlawful for them to keep company with any of the Commonwealth, to contract any Friendship, or intermarry with any of them, or to traffick with them, except it were with fuch as were of their own Party. No Man or Maid-Servant, no Apprentice was admitted into their Families, except they also agreed by Compact to join in their sanctified Fellowship. For this reason every one of the old Traytors kept his own Station; and what is scarce credible, the Faction was every where increased by great Multitudes of Men unexperienced in Arms. A more private Sessions of Men had the charge of the chief Matter of all things. These were about fixty Captains of Cromwell's Army, who held a Council every Week in London, and they gave themselves the Title of the chief Counsellors of the Commonwealth, and therefore called themselves by the endearing Names of Kindred: as, according to the Custom of England, by which the the King uses to call the Noblemen Coufins, who are of the Privy Council. By the same Authority also, with which they governed their own Republick, they governed the Provinces of their own Parties. By their Command, Colonels and Captains were fent into their feveral Counties, to enroll and register the Names of their Soldiers; Commissioners, for the fake of fafer Intercourse, were deputed from all fides: and, lastly, every sedicious Preacher had his Station allotted to him. From hence it came to pass, that nothing should be undertaken separately, but whatever they had a mind to attempt, must be first brought to the Common-Council: For though various Conspiracies broke out in various Places, yer every Man's Counfel was spread through each County in the King's Dominions. The Testimony of those who were privy to their Counsels, the Confessions of those who were guilty, and the intercepted Letters of the Conspirators, plainly discovered whatever Opinion or Judgment was given in any of their As yet the King was scarce re-Assemblies. freshed from his long Banishment, when they, allowing no Rest to themselves or to him, raised up the Troubles of a Civil War. For when the King returned about the end of the Month of May, Summer not being yet come, they had prepared all things for a War *. A Night was appointed, in which they determined to feize

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^{*} See the Lord Chancellor's Speech to the Parliament, Dec. 29. 1660.

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upon the Tower of London, and the Castle of Windsor, the two chief Fortifications of the King's Palace; and, at the same time, they prepared to raife warlike Tumults in the West and North Countries. But when all their Defigns were daily laid open to the King, he in the nick of time fent the principal Ringleaders to Prison. Amongst these was Colonel Holmes, who, twenty-five Years afterwards, was taken in Monmouth's Rebellion, and hanged in the eightieth Year of his Age. These Men confessed their Crime before the King, and begged that it might not be laid to them: they difcover'd that there was a Conspiracy every where, to turn Monarchy into a Democracy. They who feemed to amend and come to themfelves again, counselled him to beware daily of fudden Insurrections: Schismaticks were never quiet; as often as the Heads of one Rebellion are cut off, another presently, as long as the Body of the Hydra remains, will spring up a-The Power and Will of Rebelling will never be wanting: neither did they deceive themselves or the King by their Conjecture, when they themselves made the Sowers of Treason, and he the Harvest of Traytors.

But Ludlow was at the Head, and, as it were, the Dictator of all the Conspiracies; who, tho he was banished, yet governed all their Councils: neither did they do any thing but what he commanded. And what encreased the Courage of the Faction, was, that he promised he would be present at every Rebellion: For he was a strong and warlike Man, daring and more hardy

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Bishop PARKER'S History

than Wisdom required, not only a Parricide, but a most malicious Enemy to the King's Cause. For he bound himself by an Oath, never to be a Friend to his King; neither, if the King would of his own accord give him his Hand and his Pardon, would he accept them: but was refolved to wage everlasting War against all Tyrants, for so they called all the Royal Family. And though he failed in many, and they too very great Attempts, yet he continually studied to contrive fresh Commotions. Danvers was next to him, the most noted Anabaptist in Cromwell's Army; who also from the very Instauration of the King's Reign, even to this very day, continues to heap one Wickedness upon another: and being at this day ready for Rebellion, he faved his Neck from a Halter, either by flight, or by hiding himself, having been very active in Monmouth's Rebellion.

nuary, Venner's Fury broke out, accompanied with a Rabble of forty Enthusiasts; he was a Wine-Cooper come over from New-England, and it was begun and ended almost on one and the same Day in the City of London. I might call these a new Species of Fanatick Monsters, if Africa had not formerly produced its Circumcellians, and Germany, in the Age past, her Anabaptists; but these took their Rise from the very Dregs of Cromwell's Rebellion. The first thing that prompted them to War, was, that they believed they should be the Body Guards of their King, Jesus.

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For he was to return to the World some time or another, and erect for himself a fifth Monarchy. To this End he commanded his Followers to make a Way for him by the Murder, Death, and universal Slaughter of the Wicked, and that he would prosper what they took in hand. Upon this the untractable Rabble run headlong into all Dangers: Neither do they confult what might probably be done, but they attempt whatever comes into their Heads. Before they put on their Accourrements, which they did in the most private Part of the Conventicle, Venner preached to them, using this facred Argument instead of a Text (as we call it) One Man shall put Ten to flight, and Ten shall make a Thousand run; in his Declaration, wherein he fet forth the Reasons of the War, he promised the same Things to his Followers, as if he had been a Prophet fent down from Heaven. Their Enemies, they fay, will not dare to touch an Hair of their Heads; that they themselves were the Men who were only chosen to do this peculiar Work of the Lord; neither would they sheathe their Swords, until they had made Babylon (for so they called Monarchy) contemptible and curfed; nor should a Remnant be left, not a Son, or a Grandson. When they had led Captivity captive in England, then they were to carry their Arms into foreign Nations, France, Spain, and Germany; they would affemble their Brethren together from all Parts of the World, to ailift them in destroying the Whore; they would never make a Truce, or Peace, with the Monarchy-Men, for that was the Term they used; but would always rife up to pos-

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sels the Gate against the carnal Men, (for that Word Gate was the private Signal which they were to use in Battle) and to bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron. They were so bewitched with these Fancies and Chimæras, that these Poltrons, tho' they were but forty in Number, did not doubt conquering with ease, not only a City so large and populous, but even the whole World The Hardiest of these were slain, the Rest were hanged. Hitherto there was not fo much a War, as the Prelude of a War; or rather a Tumult and Rabble of a few hot-headed Men who could not be kept within Bounds. For the Conspiracy did not rest among these few Mad-Men, it had spread itself long before throughout the whole Kingdom. Nor did a Week pass about, in which it did not appear that there was a Conspiracy formed against the King's Life. Innumerable Letters from the Fanaticks, of every Faction, and every County, were intercepted, exhorting one another to be quick and diligent in doing the Work of the Lord. Abundance of Arms were found in a Vault under the House of one Pearson, in Devonshire, one of the most notorious Knaves among the Fanaticks; for this was the Circuit which Venner had taken some time be-Two hundred Letters were also taken from one Messenger, writ from those in that County to their Brethren in London, professing their earnest Desire and exceeding Love The same Night that Venner apfor the Caufe. peared at the Head of his Followers in London, the Anabaptists in the County of Lincoln rode about, as if they were going to do fome great

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great Thing, as is well known to the People of that Country. Finally, a Letter from an Anabaptift, whose Sir-name was Millinex, directed to Fellico, a Quaker, and written concerning the Disposition of the Chester Rebellion, was discovered at the same Time; it was to this Effect: " I hope you and yours are well, we " are all in good Health, fee that you be faithful to your Friends. I tell you that " we shall gather together in great Numbers, " not less than fix Thousand. I give you No-" tice of this, that you may communicate to " the Rest of your Brethren, in what hostile " Manner we affemble, for the Sake of de-" fending the Truth. We are to meet at " Chester on the twenty fourth Day of the " first Month (January). Besure to remem-" ber the Day. Farewel. And do not for-" get to meet your Brethren there." The Quaker (as he ingenuously confessed) being terrifyed at the Boldnels and Prefumption of the mischievous Act, discovered the whole Matter to the Mayor of Chester. He revealed it to the Earl of Darby, who calling the Man to him, that had disclosed the Conspiracy, and enquiring more concerning it, he immediately raised all the Militia in the County of Chefter, called the Palatinate, (of which his Anceftors had been Lord-Lieutenants for many Ages) and of the County of Lancaster. was at the same Time communicated to the Lord-Lieutenants of the Counties of Derby, Stafford, Salop, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and the West-riding of Tork; and, therefore, having all their Troops in Readiness, and committing all Cromwell's Officers to Prison, they broke

broke all the Faction's Measures by that Blow. But, though this Fire was every where extinguished, yet the Sparks of it broke out in feveral Places. Even Wales, which to that Day had been unaccustomed to Treason, now first beheld such Monsters in the World, and was amazed at the Novelty of the Thing. fifteen of the Ringleaders of Cromwell's Faction being taken, prevented themselves to this Day from becoming a Prey to foreign wild Beafts. But though Traytors in Wales, like Snakes in Ireland, are killed by the very Nature of the Climate; yet in later Times here in our England, they are produced almost every Month, in Number more than the very Frogs, as if they forung up of their own accord, or rather were nourished by Presterian Treason. For the Year was not as yet ended, when, Nov. 23d, an Affembly of the old veteran Traytors were taken in the City of Westminster. Among these were chiefly the broken Officers of the Army; Packer, Streater, Weilks, Gladman, Heins, Litcott, Kenrick, Read, and others; Men, whose Names were most famous among all Cromwell's Party. They being committed to Prison in the Nick of Time, the Conspiracy was destroyed in the Birth: Except that a while afterwards, one John James, who was a most famous Preacher among the Fanaticks, instructed his Congregation in his Meetinghouse, which was in White-chappel, to butcher the King, the Royal Family, and all the Nobles: He extolled Venner and the other Rebels for Martyrs, advising to expiate, and make Atonement for their Blood, by Parricide, and the Murder of their Countrymen. But when they

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they would not give over, though many of them were daily flung into Prison, all the Officers who had been in Cromwell's Army, were ordered to depart twenty Miles from the City of London; and go unarmed, as often as they appeared abroad, otherwise they were to be imprisoned. The same was done, for the same Reason, by the Privy Council in Ireland.

On the third of December the Commons Fournals. addressed the King, that he would lay before Parl. the House the Letters and Intelligence which he had received from almost all the Counties in the Kingdom, (for fo they called the Provinces) concerning the great, or rather, univerfal Conspiracy against the Commonwealth; and at the same Time petitioned his Majesty to guard against all the Endeavours of the Rebels, especially such as tended to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, as to his Majesty's great Prudence should seem meet.

The King was pleased to refer this Matter back to the Parliament; and they quickly discovered from whence it arose, how it was disclosed, and after what Manner it was form-"That there was a common Conspiracy " of all Factions; that the chief Affairs were " managed at that time by a private Coun-" cil, confifting of one and twenty, (three " being chosen out of each Faction.) That " the Affair had met with a small Rub; that " Princes were to be bound in Chains; that " it was spread far and near; and that they " could scarce overcome the Danger without " help." Christmas-day being now at hand, and no Bufiness to be done in the Holy-days, and refenting the Vileness of the Thing, they choie

chose a Committee of both Houses to enquire into the mischievous Deeds, and to make the greatest Discovery they could possibly.

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In the Beginning of the next Spring, a Difcovery of the whole Matter was laid before the Parliament. Some of the Conspirators were more closely confined, and others were taken; among these the Principal was one Salmon, who had been an Officer under Cromwell, who had taken a List of one hundred and fixty other Officers. They all came to London the tenth Day of December last, and they had resolved to feize upon many Towns and Cities before the End of January; first, Shrewsbury, Coventry, and Bristol. These Places the Duke of Albemarle had taken care to Garrison with his Troops before. They were to begin their Rebelling by a fudden Maffacre; and there were feveral fugitive Parricides waiting on the Coast of France and Holland, ready to come over at a Moment's Warning. The Conspirators would not scruple to boast openly that they should succeed, if the Affair was once prosperously begun. A Discovery of these Things, and of a Concil of one and twenty valiant Men was made to the King. Both Houses being incenfed at this great Boldness of the Rebels, they immediately fet about to obviate such great Evils, by an Act confifting of four Parts. They first take care of the Army, which was absolutely necessary for the Preservation of the Peace in troublesome Times. First, they refolve that the Power of the Militia was, is, and for the future should be in the King only. And that it should not be lawful for the two

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ne o two great States of the Realm to make War against the King, upon any Pretence whatsoever, not even in their own Defence. Then they enacted, that the Names of all the Militia in every County, City, and Town, should, by the King's Authority, be enrolled and regiftred. The King was to place fuch Officers over them, as he pleased. Their Subsistance-Money, as often as there was Occasion, should be paid by the Inhabitants of the County. That they should have a general Field-Day once in every Year, and should be exercised for the Space of four Days together. That every fingle Troop or Company should be difciplined once in three Months, that they may be trained up, and fit to go to Battle. No Man, whether Officer, or Soldier, should be mustered, but who had taken the following "To fwear, that it was impious and " wicked to refift the King with Arms, upon " any Pretence what soever; and that they ab-" horred that damnable Doctrine of High-Trea-" fon, that it was lawful to fight, by the " King's Authority, against his Person, or a-" gainst any others commissioned by him." So, when all the Kingdom was thus handfomely furnished with military Troops, (as it seemed) if any new Conspiracy broke out in any Place, it would be eafily suppressed.

The military Affairs being settled, the next Thing they were to take Care of, was the Magistrates. For, when in Cromwell's Time, the Rebels had taken by Violence, to themselves only, the Power in every City and Town; they were now turned out, and others placed in their Room. Nor were these suffered to

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enter upon any Office, until they had first taken the foregoing Oath, and renounced the Solemn League and Covenant. So that when these Places were the more frequented by People, where the Pest of Sedition used to creep along in the Streets, they were now kept sound, and all immoderate Liberty of Sedition cut off.

Next they proceed to reftrain the Boldness of the Press; from whence innumerable Libels were daily put forth, in order to raise Sedition. From hence a Stop was put by the Parliament to every Preis, except fuch as were fet up by Authority from the Stationers Company. Nor were any printed Books suffered to be published, but such only as were approved by, and had the Imprimatur of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, or the Chancellor of each University. If any Bookseller did contrary to this, first he was to be debarred from felling any Books for three Years; if he offended a fecond Time, he was to be prohibited for ever. When that great and immoderate Liberty of Lying was taken away, which they chiefly used most immoderately at that Time, the whole Frame of Rebellion and Treason was broke: Which, tho' it at all times abounds with Mischief, yet in this Age feemed not so much to bring forth whole Swarms, as to pour them forth voluntarily. Among the vaft Number of Books, which they published for the Space of two Years, those chiefly teemed with Sedition, which treated of Prodigies. In all these you might see daily the Wonders of Livy. Two Suns. Ships fwimming in the Air. A bloody Rain-bow. It Rains

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Rains Stones. A Lamb with two Heads. All the Cathedral Churches finged with Lightening. A Bull speaks. A Hen is changed into a Cock. A Mule brings forth a young One. When the Parricides were put to Death, five young Boys were feen to fand by them. A bright Star shone round about the Quarters of those which were affixed upon the City-Gates. The Apparition of a Bishop, in his Lawn-Sleeves and Rochet, was feen at Oxford. Two monitrous large Hogs came into the Cathedral Church of Canterbury in the Time of divine Service: This (they fay) happened in the Year 1641, before the Destruction of the Hierarchy. When the Effigy of a Prefbyterian Parson was to be burned, the Straw would not take Fire. Many Ministers died suddenly as they were reading the Liturgy. One that rejoyced at the Execution of Harrison, the Parricide, was ftruck with a Palfey. Another, railing against Peters, as he was going to the Gallows, was very much wounded, and almost torn to Pieces by a Dog, which he had made tame and familiar to him. A Woman at Chichefter was delivered of a Child, not from the Womb, but from her Mouth. Besides these, there were an infinite Number of other lying Wonders. I do not make one of them myself, and it would grieve me to recite the hundredth Part of their Folly. Nor did they write these Fables only, but made Parallels, with the Punishments imposed by Heaven, upon the wicked Men of the past Times. Nor is this all, for the Blasphemers, in the Prefaces of their Books, called God to witness, as he is the Searcher of our Hearts, the Truth of all their Fables; and with bitter Impre-

Imprecations afferted them to be true. See the wicked, and more than abderitical Madness of fanatical Superstition. These Stories their Ringleaders would tell, and the People fwallowed them greedily. I was a young Man in those Days, but very well remember that they read those Books as diligently as they did the Bible. There was not one of the Party, that had them not, they read them, they reverenced them. But the Law, of which we have been fpeaking, being feafonably published, there were no Prodigies afterwards, no fictitious Miracles; and laftly, no wonderful Tears happened, which was the Title they gave to their Books. Laftly, they took care of the Ecclefiaflical Affairs, which, indeed, was their chief Care, and proceeded to restore the Church of England to her ancient Dignity. First, by the Authority of the King's Writ, a Synod of the Clergy was called: This Synod confifted of a double Sessions. The Bishops only sate in the upper House; the Deans, Archdeacons, and one Canon out of every Cathedral Church, in the lower House; and lastly, two Ministers, chosen out of each Diocess, by the Majority of the Clergy. These make Ordinances concerning Ecclesiastical Matters; then their Decrees are brought to the King; if he shall approve them, they are brought into Parliament, that what the Church has ordained by her Spiritual Power, may be fenced by the Statute Law. When the Convocation, therefore, (for fo the Synod of the Clergy is called) had ratified all Things, as they were before in the Church of England, except fome Things in the Liturgy, which they did not think

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think proper for certain temporal Reasons, they brought their Ordinances to the King, and the two Houses of Parliament, to receive the Sanction of their Authority: Hence came that most famous Law, commonly called the Att of Uniformity. By which Law, every Ecclefiaffical Person was obliged in open divine Service to use that Liturgy only; if they did not do this, before the Feast of St. Bartholomew, they were to lose all the Profits they had by the Church; afterwards they were to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, and to detest it as an Imposition contrary to the Laws of God, of Nature, and of the Kingdom. By this, one of these two Things must come to pass, that the Presbyterian Ministers must either return into the Peace and Unity of the Church, and at the same time renounce the Oath of their Perfidy and Treason: Or else depart from all their Profits in the Church, and, at the same time, from the Opportunities of acting their mischievous Deeds. This occasioned a great Disturbance in the Faction; Men ran one way and another; they began to defend themselves against this Law by entering into a new League. If they all withdrew their Obedience, the Church could not ftand without them; there would be no Preachers any where; the People were every where preparing to defire an Abrogation of the Law, left by the Scarceness of Preachers, their Souls should perish for want of the divine Food of the Word of God.

But the greatest Hopes which the Faction had, were placed in their Friends at Court: For these being admitted into the Secrets of

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the King's Council, and enjoying the greatest Offices in the Commonwealth, they could entangle nothing but the publick Affairs; they moderated the Laws made against feditious Persons; they were Advocates for their Offences; and laftly, they were to endeavour this one Thing, that the Republick and the Church, being established and set in good Order, may not increase and cleave together. For as that was begun, which they now faw was well begun, being once perfectly finished, they perceived that all their Affairs would quickly fall into the greatest Despair. They, therefore, run to the King, and whifper in his Ears, (for they found by Experience, that he was inclinable enough to Clemency; and too much indeed; as it came to pals, in sparing them) that fuch a powerful Body of Men ought not to be provoked rashly, for they were the great. est Part of the Nation, in respect both of Number and Riches; neither did they refuse the old Conditions in the Ad of Uniformity. But if these new, and as hitherto, never before-heardof Chains of renouncing the Solemn League and Covenant were taken away, they would all, to a Man, come into the Church of England. Laftly, If a Stop was not presently put to this Tryal, the Matter would fuddenly come to a total Defection of the People. To this we may add, that humble Supplications from the Presbyterian Ministers at London, were pre-" Having, fented to the King in this wife. " before this Time, experienced your Maje-" fty's great Mercy, We who have been al-" ways faithful, (Good God !) yet we cannot, " for Conscience sake, comply with the Ast

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of Uniformity, to which you command every " one to accede, are presently to be turned " out of our facred Function, except you " take pity on us. Proftrate at your facred " Feet, we most humbly beg, that according " to your Majesty's great Prudence and Mercy, " you will confider and weigh this Matter " before you begin, left we be driven from the " Opportunity of teaching your People, which " is a Duty we owe to God and to your Ma-" jefty. But if, out of your great Clemency, " you will grant us this Permission, we doubt " not to demonstrate by our great Obedience " to your Majesty, and our peaceable Behavi-" our to the Church, that we shall not be " altogether unworthy fo great a Favour." When the King was fomewhat aftonished with these Things, they obtained from him, with much Reluctance, to prove the Thing indeed for a time. And, therefore, when the Law was to have taken Place, and to be in Force the next Sunday, they, three Days only before, made Interest to be called before the Council to dispatch the Matter, left some Body perhaps might come before the Day, who would vex and be troublesome to them. This was what unexpectedly happened by the Prudence and Courage of one Man; and this was their great Antagonist Gilbert Sheldon, then Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. For as the Council was Sitting, he came of his own accord, for he was not then one of the Privy-Council. But he spoke in behalf of the Law with fuch Fineness of Wit, such Abundance of Eloquence, and produced fuch Authories for the Matter, that he did not so much

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draw back, as he did force the King, the Duke, the Council, and indeed all that were there, and almost the very Petitioners themselves to be of his Opinion. He said, that it was now too late to fet this Law at Liberty; and that he would give Orders to turn out all those out of his Diocess, who had not complied with the Law, the preceeding Sunday. Which being done, they were incenfed to that Degree, that he declared if they should be reftored again, he would withdraw from the Fellowship of the Clergy, and then live in the very Mouth of his Enemies. Neither could he go contrary to a Law, which was ordained by so great a Defire of all good Men, by the almost universal Consent of the Parliament, and where so much Deliberation was had. To this he added, that if a Law so sacred was at that time to be taken away, it would expose the Legislators to the Contempt and Ridicule of the Faction; laftly, that the Republick and the Church would never be free from Trouble and Discord, if factious Men were permitted to pluck away, by Presumption and Importunity, whatever they had a Mind to. They who were present at the Council, being convinced by these and such like Arguments, confented with the greatest Chearfullness, and a Kind of Vehemency of Mind, to the immediate Execution of the Law. By which it happily came to pass, that when there was one Day only to intervene between a Change in the Council, and the Issue of the Matter, almost all the Presbyterians, not apprehending any fuch Thing, but on the contrary, being pleased with their Ease, they perceived on a fudden,

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1 2 en, fudden, not without the greatest Astonishment and Murmuring, that in almost the Twinkling of an Eye, they were by one Slaughter overthrown, and thrust out of their Parishes.

By this one Deed he for many Years delivered the Church of England from those milchievous Men. For Providence to happily ordered it, that the very Schismaticks hanged themselves with their own Schism, their League and Covenant: They entered into a new Confpiracy, being deluded by the great Promifes of the Londoners, who would not obey the Law, but defend themselves by their Numbers. And when the Court-Preachers would have made the King to believe that they would not go near the City of London on that Sunday, the most wife Prelate of that City having calculated the Number of the Faction, took care to have in Readiness a like Number of orthodox Men, (and fuch as were eloquent and good Scholars) who, upon a Signal given, rifing as it were out of an Ambush, seized upon all the Pulpits. And though from that time the Schismaticks tried all Manner of Artifice to be received into the Bosom of the Church, yet with fuch Diligence did he prevent their Enterance, that when they law their Endeavours so often frustrated, they quietly lat down, as long as he lived, being not otherwife much troublesome with their Schism, than as they were Schismaticks. A few Years af- 1672. ter they would have raised new Commotions in the Church, that by repealing the Act against the Solemn League and Covenant, they might have the Liberty to return into her Bolom, for that was the only Obstacle that

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prevented their Return; nor did they wan Friends in both Houses of Parliament, even among the Bishops. For when the King not long before that time, having been put to great Streights and Difficulties in the Dutch-War, did by his own royal Authority, as I suppose, dispense with the Penalties of the Law (as Kings formerly had done) then that he might preserve Peace at home, and because he understood that the Faction corresponded with his Enemies; to remedy this Evil, he thought it necessary to grant them Liberty of Conscience for a While, and by stroking them, prevent their kicking. This being done, a great many of both Houses of Parliament were fo angry, when they faw a Law taken away without their Confent, which was ordained by their Command, (as it seemed) that tho' they had enacted it, yet they had rather it should be repealed, than to have any Part of it abolished. Having this Opportunity, the Presbyterians presently, by the Assistance of their Friends, of whom they had a great many in both Houses, required the Law to be repealed. The King's Letters, and every Thing else being passed which were necessary to the Establishment of the Law, the Archbishop was of Opinion, that it was best to please all good Men by using Lenity and Clemency; nor would he dissent from the Rest, if by taking away that Law, they would only require fuch a Covenant for their Fidelity, as no honest Man could or would refuse, lest by yielding too much, it might feem to lessen his Power and Authority. And therefore he proposed nothing more than that they should acknowledge

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ledge and confess that the War against King Charles the First was not lawful. He had scarce fpoke this, when they dropt the Question for a new Law, and they were so very much terrified and frightened from their Intent, that, as if they had Nothing to trust to for the Future, they never afterwards did dare to begin again. The Hopes and Power of committing Treason, and raising Rebellion being now taken away, the Presbyterian Affairs were brought into the deepest Despair. But when they perceived too late, that they had hitherto deluded themselves by plain and open Policy, they fecretly contrive to bring about by Fraud, what they could not effect by Power. For this Purpose, therefore, they enter into a new Conspiracy with some trayterous Divines of the Church of England, Men who allowed nothing to be true therein but their Profits, in every other Respect they were meer Fanaticks. Having united all their Force and Power, they now cannot doubt to carry their Point; altho this was the same with their former Conspiracy, only cloaked and gloffed over with a new Form of Words, that it may appear to be iomething new to unwary and unthinking Men. now they were pleased to call it a Law for Comprehension; by which, torsooth, the Presbyterian Traytors, by destroying the Law, which for their Will and Pleasure, or rather by their Command, they required should be taken away, may, together with the Papifts, be received into the Church, and into the Benefits There were one or two Biof the Church. thops, as it happened, a few Ministers, and two Lawyers at this Conspiracy, who, by their

Authority ordain, that fuch a Law should be established, as if they had it in their Power to rule the Church and Kingdom. The Archbishop, than whom no Man was more vigilant, or readier to discover Frauds and Deceit, understood daily all the Designs of the Traytors, and I have often heard him openly and sharply rebuke, by his own Authority, such Prefumption, by which one or two Bishops, and a few Ministers should, without their Metropolitan, and without a Convocation, offer to destroy the facred Laws of the Church: This certainly would have been fuch a Wickedness and Schism in the Primitive Church, for which, nothing less than perpetual Deprivation could make an Atonement. But the Archbishop, who was of a gentle and generous Disposition, did not threaten, but only friendly advised them to acquiesce a little, till they should obtain, by Request, his, and his Brethren the Bishops Consent, or at least should ask it. In the mean Time he dealt gently with the principal Conspirators, that, if possible, he might restore them to their Senses. I remember I was present, when a certain Bishop devoutly promised that he would defift from having a Hand in the Matter; and yet, the very same Day on which the Assembly met to dispatch the Business, I knew that he came out from thence, and had done all that lay in his Power to accomplish it. when the Archbishop had soon understood, that they had brought their Purpose to bear, he pretended, for a While, to every Body a very few of his Domesticks only excepted, that he knew nothing of the Conspiracy. At length, watching

watching an Opportunity, he called me and another to him, who was not a Bishop, but next in Degree to a Bishop, and as he was a facetious Man, taxed us both with having been among the Conspirators. What could I do who was innocent, but modeftly, as it was my Duty, and yet with some Assurance, deny it. The * other Fellow truly was not content with a fingle lye, but like Peter, when he denied his Lord with an Oath, defended himfelf by frequently denying the Charge; and he faid, that he vehemently advised those, who endeavoured to get him thither, to drop their very Decree, until the Archbishop and Bishops should fit upon it. As soon as he went away, the Archbishop smiling upon me, asked Pardon for the Rebuke which he feemed to have given me: I have feen, fays he, too much of this Man's Treachery, but I cannot enough admire his Impudence or Stupidity; when, if he had not been a Blockhead, he must have perceived from a certain Form of Words, which I used, that all the Designs of the Assembly, at which he was always present, and had a great Share in it, were manifestly betrayed to me. And from that Time he discontinued all Friendship, as much as he could, with him and the other Conspirators. But those Fellows were the more diligent in accomplishing the Purpose they had begun, and determined, when it was accomplished, to lay it before the House of Commons. — In the mean Time, the Archbishop, to whom, as has been said, all their Designs were laid open, had so disposed the

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honest Members of that House, to resolve on the very first Day of their Sitting, that if the Matter were brought before them, to throw it out. And therefore that deadly English Henoticon was destroyed, which if it had not perished in the Birth, would have brought the same Evils and Plagues upon the English Church, as that other of Zeno did sormerly

upon the Catholick Church.

But as the Matter has required me to speak of fo great a Man, I cannot pass him by, till I have, in a few Words, laid open his good natural Temper, the Firmness of his Courage, the Sweetness of his Disposition - Whose History I have had a long time in my Mind to write; and truly I would have wrote it, if I could any way have got the Memoirs, which he left, of those Things which were done in his Time. As he came early to be concerned in the Affairs of the Kingdom, being a Man of mature Wit, and was present when Things of the greatest Moment were upon the Carpet; and as he great. ly excelled in Strength and Fineness of Judgement; no doubt the Histories he writ of all Affairs were very excellent In the mean Time, fince I may not write his Hiftory, yet I cannot forbear publishing, as well a Description of his great Soul, as that he was a Person of great Virtues, whom Posterity should imitate. And that I may begin with his excellent good Qualities, as a Prelate, he was a Man of manifest Piety. But though he was often, and very affiduous at Prayers, yet he did not fet fo great a Value upon them, as others did; neither did he so much regard Worship, as he did the Use of Worship. He wisely placed the on he

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the chief Point of Religion in Leading a good Life: In his daily Discourse it was his Custom to caution those about him, not to deceive themselves with an half Religion, nor to think that all the Form of divine Worship was reftrained within the Walls and Railes of the Church: The chiefest Part was without Doors. and confifted in being conversant with Mankind. If Men led an upright, lober, chafte Life, then, and not till then, they may look upon themselves to be religious: Otherwise, it would fignify nothing what Rule of Religion wicked Men followed, or what Church they belonged to. Therefore, having fpoke to this Effect, he was greatly pleased with, and, as it were, leaping for Joy, always had this Expression in his Mouth, Do well, and rejoice. That this alone was, in his Opinion, the Duty, and, at the same Time, the Comtort of Life, and without it profited nothing. Therefore, next to Atheists and Fanaticks, he despised that disdainful Sort of Men, who would place the Duty of Mankind in the Ceremonies of Worthip and Religion; and because, perhaps, they worshiped God oftner than others did, they would therefore reckon themselves. better Men. He used to say, that these were not fo religious as foolish, who had not Senfe enough to differn what was just and unjust, good and bad. For tho' our Prayers are very powerful and helpful, that we may obtain the Grace of God to affift us, and that the Honour due to God may be cherished in our warm and lively Hearts; yet these will avail nothing, except we make a further Progress. The Lord's Supper, (in which our Christian Worthip

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Worship is chiefly placed) is indeed the Sacrament of the Christian Law. This Law is placed in the Duties of mutual Charity and good Will; he therefore is the best Christian, that doth the most Good to Mankind. That the greatest Charity is practifed by Justice only; for we ought to have Charity for all Men, without which, no Fellowship can exist, and it is this which preserves the Peace and Tranquillity of all the World. Other Vertues are but Hand-maids to this; Liberality and Almsgiving, if pulled away from this are nothing elfe than Theft and Rapine. And therefore his Advice to young Noblemen and Gentlemen (who by their Parents Commands flocked daily to him) was always this; let it be your principal Care to become an honest Man, and asterwards be as devout and religious as you will: No Piety will be any Advantage to you, or to any Body else, without you are an honest and moral Man; for God will not recompence honest Men if they are slothful and unprofitable: Neither can Men reap any Benefit from barren Piety. But if, in the Integrity of their Hearts, they resolve to place the Foundation of Religion in leading a good Life, that will make them take great Delight in the Worship of God, and at the same Time, in discharging their Duties towards Men. he could be troubled at any thing, it was this alone, that he could hardly bear with any Colour of Patience the counterfeited Religion of wicked Men; which was the Reproach of God and Men. But it grieved him exceedingly, that, during the whole Course of his long Lile, he beheld the worst Men placing the most 1ecret

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fecret Snares of Ambition, under a Mask of folitary Humility, and in counterfeiting the ftricteft Piety. Such Men, he said, we ought to fhun, as we would little Thieves. For he did not remember above three or four Men. and they were Men of foolish Simplicity, who under a Hood did not make a Theft and Robbery of Honour. Tho', in this Matter, he had fome Comfort and Revenge, to fee these very Men always strip themselves of their Honours by their Imprudence. But how much ill Will and Contempt loever he bore to these little Animals of small Reputation, as well because they had, by their Snares, robbed Religion of her Honour, as by their Petulancy they had exceedingly troubled and diffurbed the Temperance of Affairs; yet if he happened to meet with any Men of plain and found Piety, who in good earnest had given themselves up to the Worship of God, and to heavenly Meditation, it is scarce credible to think with what Affection, what Friendship, and indeed, with what Joy he imbraced fuch Men: He reverenced them as Fathers, loved them as Brothers, and conversed with them as familiarly as if they had been his Friends. But when such gentle Opinions of Religion were added to fuch a very good Disposition of Nature, how large a Crop of Virtues must such excellent Seed produce, as if they were fown in the most fertile Soil! Hence sprung that even Tranquillity of Mind, by which, whether in a prosperous or adverse Condition, he was still like himself, and always the same; in Adversity he was greater; in Prosperity better, and never deviated from himself; he husbanded, but did not despise Life; he neither feared nor wished for Death, and lived pleasantly to himself, and to other Men. Nor did he place any other Happiness in this present Life, than that he could bear, and even enjoy it through Hopes of a better; because it was pleasant and acceptable with it, but intollerable without it, and so he died with the same Evenness of Mind with which he lived: Neither did he depart from his usual Chearsulness, till his Soul departed from his

Body.

From a Tranquillity of Mind, there does naturally arise a curteous Behaviour; for he who pleases himself, takes delight in pleasing others, and does equally rejoice at his own and other Mens Felicity. His Conversation, therefore, was always gentle; he never fent any Man away (if possible) discontented, except that his Unwillingness to leave him might occasion it. Among his Domesticks he was both pleasant and grave, and governed his Family with Authority and Courtefy. We all reverenced him, no Man stood in Fear of him: When he had Occasion to chide any Man, which he feldom did, and even then it was against his Will, his Words of Rebuke were made pleasant with a gentle and Socratick Behaviour. He would always have his House open for Hospitality, and his Table covered with the best of all Sorts of Meat, not for Luxury, but for Elegancy. Persons of the best Rank and Fashion flocked thither in great Numbers, to enjoy the Pleasure of his Conversation; and feafoned all his Entertainments with a Mixture of grave, witty, and pleasant Discourse, and spoke curteously and merrily to every Gueit,

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Guest, let his Station be what it would; and every one went away, bound in Duty to him for his fingular Humanity. It is not proper to enlarge upon the smaller Points of Decorum in this great Man; for, though, perhaps, they are not to be commended among the Vertues, yet they are a Gracefulness peculiar to all great Men. Nor, indeed, do I think that I ought to give a more diligent Description of his Vertues. How little, how barren, and how poor a Commendation would it be, to fay of this Prelate, who was a Man of fuch found and generous Piety, that he was just, temperate, and modest; especially when these are not so much the Virtues of the Man, as the Duties of the Bishop. For tho' it would be a very great Dilgrace for another Man to want them, yet in a Clergyman they scarce merit Commendation. Since, therefore, the greatest Things only ought to be spoke of the greatest Men, laying aside the Rest, we will fairly speak of the Vertues only of his Greatness.

All Greatness of Mind consists of these three Things, Wisdom, Magnanimity, Munisicence: Charles the First, who was the best of Kings, set the greatest Value upon his Wisdom; to whom, as he was always acceptable in a few Things, by reason of his Integrity and Humanity, so on Account of his singular Prudence he had almost obtained the Familiarity of his Friendship. For he was pleased to employ him not only in publick Affairs and Embassies, as he did others, from the Treaty of Uxbridge, at which time he came into the publick Business; but he also admitted him into his more secret Councils, and the better he knew him,

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the more abundantly he loved him. And when he himself had attained to the highest Maturity in Wisdom, having been instructed therein by his great and long Troubles, he would chiefly make use of his Counsel and Conversation: If he had him by his Side, it feemed to him to take away the Sharpness of his Misfortunes; and in his lowest and most desperate Circumstances, when after the Conference in the Isle of Wight, the Rebel Officers had refolved to murder him, all his Friends and Servants were driven from him, the King obtained, by his urgent Intreaties, that though the Rest were driven away, that he might enjoy Sheldon's Company alone for one Day; which Day they prolonged to Midnight, till he was taken away from the King by meer military Force. In which short Space of Time he entrufted him with all his Secrets, and last Counfels, among which, he was chiefly charged with feveral Things which he was to communicate to his Son. Among his many other excellent Sayings, I remember three which I had from the Bishop's Mouth.

First, That he should forgive his Rebel Subjects, as much as he could; but not to trust one of them for the future, unless he had a Mind to be utterly undone by them. Secondly, That he should keep as much Money in his Exchequer, as he could; for Subjects will not dare to rebel against any but poor Kings. Thirdly, That he should make Atonement for the Sin of Sacriledge, and that he should first shew himself an Example to his Subjects, by restoring again to the Church those Revenues, which, by the Wickedness of sormer Times,

had been taken from it; which was, what he had vowed to God to perform, if he ever came

again to his Crown.

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But as I have spoken of the great Love and Affection of the best of Kings to this Man, I need not fay any Thing of his Magnanimity. He must needs be a Person of a stiff and invincible Courage, to fee fuch a Man, from whom he had received fo many good Turns, to be treated with fo much Indignity, and made a Laughing-Stock to the most abominable Part of Mankind, and not shrink into a Stone with Excess of Grief; but he bore the Weight, and by Length of Time, learned in some Manner to fustain it. But he was naturally so chearful, that I have often heard him profess, that nothing ever touched his Heart (for those were his Words, and he could then scarce retrain from Tears) but the Misery of the King; but as it was Thunder struck with that, he fell down, and did not, for a long time, recover his Conftancy, but as long as he lived, was troubled with a raging Pain in his Mind, tho' he strove all he could against it. Neither did he manifest himself to be a Man of less Courage and Bravery in encountring with Dangers, than in bearing his Mistortunes. For he was almost a Privy-Counsellor to King Charles the Second, during the Time of his being in Exile. He had the chief Management of all the King's Affairs, which were to be transacted at home: And he was present in almost every one of the wifer Defigns against the Usurpers. But he was principally employed in making Collections, and fent the King yearly such large F 2

Sums of Money, that he feemed to be his

Majesty's Treasurer.

Laftly, As to his Munificence, I should be troublesome if I related every single Instance of that Virtue; let it suffice that I make a general Calculation of his Expences; and that I may pass over what he did in a private Condition, in which, however, he redeemed the Family Estate, which the elder Brother had confumed, for the Children of the Deceased: After that, he was advanced to the Episcopal Throne, on which he fat feventeen Years, he laid out thirty three thousand Pounds in Works of Munificence and Charity; and yet he managed his own Affairs with fuch incredible Prudence, that, although he had laid out fo very much, yet he left a large Estate, and a great deal of ready Money to his Heirs; and at the fame Time, he gave and bequeathed to every one of his Servants, (who were not a few in Number) confiderable Pensions for their Lives:

I have raifed this little Monument to the facred Memory of so great a Man; and design to make it larger hereafter, and in some Meafure more worthy his Greatness: In the mean Time I have discharged my Conscience, by this grateful Testimony, although I intend to fay much more of this most excellent Bishop, in the Sequel of these Annals, (if it shall please God to permit me) for he lived to the Year 1677, at which time, being in the eightieth Year of his Age, he died, too foun to the Difadvantage of the Church, and the whole Kingdom. But I shall take care to let Posterity know, (if God will spare my Life) what Condition the Affairs of the Church have been m

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in from his Death, to these present Times. But now I must return to the Course of these Annals, from which the beautiful Remembrance of this most excellent Prelate diverted me, and from which truly I am unwilling to part.

While the States of the Kingdom were careful in preferving the publick Peace, and imagined they had broke all the Measures, which the Rebels had taken, there Fellows, at the very fame Time, (for fuch was their Prefumption) had effected an universal Rebellion thro'out the whole Kingdom. Almost about the fame Time their great Assembly, of whom I formerly made mention, met at London, and which alone managed all their great Affairs. Under these a smaller Assembly acted, which confifted of fix Men, that is one of every Faction: For there were fix Factions, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptifts, Fifth Monarchy Men, and Levellers. And that the Matter might be the more fecretly transacted, by the Confent of them all, this Council of fix received their Orders from the supreme Council; nor did any of the other Conspirators know what this Affembly was. Laftly, thefe fent their military Officers where each of them was pleased to go. They had their Messengers and Spies in every County. They, in the mean Time, had their Cabals, sometimes in one Place, and fometimes in another, and never met thrice in the same: They would not impart their Counfels, or hold a Correspondence with any Man, except with their own Emiflaries. So, that though they had Accomplices of every Faction in the Confpiracy, yet they would let no Body into the Secrets of their

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Defigns: They warily guarded against being betrayed, and it by chance a Discovery should be made, in any Place, it could reach no further; and when the Conspiracy was blown about in every Part of the Kingdom, yet no Man knew who were the Contrivers of it: For the Spies treated separately with the military Officers only, and had not any Knowledge of each other; to that if by chance one of them was taken, he could accuse no Man out of that County which was given in Charge to him. Hence a great Report was spread thro out the Kingdom concerning a Rebellion; and Letters relating to it, were fent to the Secretaries of State, and to the King's other Prime Ministers. It struck the Citizens of London with such a panick Fear, that the Train'd Bands, for almost the whole Summer, kept watch, and placed Centinels on the Walls, and at the Gates of the City. There was a general Confernation, and every Man wondered from whence it could proceed. But at length, some of the Conspr rators being taken at London, it appeared on the 15th of October, what in reality the Conspiracy had been: Nor could the very Persons who made the Discovery, accuse any but their Accomplices of the fame Band, fome of whom were taken, and fome lay concealed. Among these were some who suffered as Rebels, and others, alking Forgiveness, were, by the King's Clemency, pardoned as usually. The Heads of the Conspiracy were Ludlow, Danvers, Lockier, Strange, and other veteran Cromwelian Officers: But these escaped either by Flight or Concealment. But though the Conspiracy was discovered, yet it was not broke or diffolved

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folved; but the Conspirators gathering new Strength every Day, carried on a fierce and horrible War for more than twenty Years. But, as their Engine of Treachery was now brought to Perfection, I must tell you by what Fraud, what Villany, what Lies, they would, if possible, have accomplished their Design. And, indeed, they used but one Stratagem for every thing, which was, that old one, namely, that as often as any abominable Act entered into their Hearts, to pollels the Peoples Minds with the Fear of Popifb Affaffins, who were every where immediately ready to cut the Throats of every Protestant. For thus their Story was laid. But when, at length, they had conspired to rise in Arms the last Day of October, under Ludlow their General, who had promised to be present, they fpread a Report throughout the whole Kingdom, by fictitious Letters, in the following Words, that there was a Popish Massacre to be put in Execution that very Day.

In Right of the Friendship between us, and the common Affection I bear to all Protestants in general, I must inform you, that, about a Fortnight ago, a Woman well known to us, but whose Name I must not yet discover, was privatly told, by a certain Popish Conspirator, that they should all take up Arms, of which they had great Store, on the last Day of October. Therefore, we thought our selves obliged to our Friends, to give them Notice, with as much Caution as may be, of the great Danger they

Bifop PARKER'S HISTORY

"they are in, that they may, by all possible "Means, defend their Religion, their King, "their Country, themselves, and their Families. Take care, that you do not suspect, "that you are not imposed upon by any Artifice or Lye. I call God Almighty to wit ness the religious Truth of what I tell you." Neither is this the private Report of a few Men, for the Thing was discovered upon "Oath, before a Justice of the Peace, and by him laid before the Privy Council. But what the Event of it was, I have not yet heard. Look to your selves, and if you make a further Discovery, impart it also to us.

Tours.

They sent these Letters, by their Spies, to all their Friends in every County; to that the Papists in several Parts of the Kingdom, especially at Worcester and Warwick, were taken into Cuftody. They had five thousand Copies ready to be despersed in every Street within the City of London, just before they began their Attempt. But when Part of the Conspiracy was discovered before the Day, on which it was to have broke out, for a While it suppressed the Whole. A great many were taken; among whom the Chief were Tonge, an old Captain, and Rigs, a Presbyterian Teacher, who was formerly Chaplain to Blake, the Admiral of the Rebel's Fleet; but now Clerk to a Brewer. But he being taken, to save his own Life, laid open all the Villany, and, according to the innate Treachery of the Presbyterian Ministers, accused his Accomplices, whom

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whom he himself had first corrupted. But the Proofs of the Conspiracy were so very plain and manifest, that they, who were accused, though some of them, as it was reasonable they should, endeavoured to defend their Innocence; yet when they perceived they should be condemned, pleaded guilty; and every one of them, just as they were upon the Point of Execution, ingenuously contested in their Speeches, which they made to the People, that they were guilty of Rebellion. They were fix in Number, Tonge, Philips, Stubs, Baker, and the two Gibbs, who were Brothers. But another of the Prisoners, whose Name was Hind, would not put himself upon his Tryal, when he was brought to the Bar; but pleading guilty, threw himself upon the King's Mercy. Among many other Villanies, which they had refolved to commit, they first conspired the King's Death; having unanimously agreed to use him no otherwise, than he would have used Ludlow, if he should take These were the very Words of the Conipiracy. But it happened, that that very Summer the Queen-Mother relided at Greenwich, and as the King went often to visit her, they chole a convenient Place near Camberwell, where the Assassins should lie in Ambush and seize him: But as the Queen went unexpectedly to London, and much fooner than she had resolved to go, the thereby delivered her Son from their Ponyards. This was what the Conspirators openly confessed. They declared the Cause of the War to be no other, than to fight, in Detence of their religious and civil Rights, against Popery and Tyranny. Thus they determined to govern their new Commonwealth: First, They would recall their Rump Regicide Secondly, They would and to Parliament. them a full Number of Members. Thirdly, No Man should be chosen, who had not manifested himself to be faithful to the good old Cause, which was the Badge by which they distinguished themselves. Fourthly, That every Parliament should continue but one Year. Fifthly, That they would exercise no Power in religious Affairs, or over Mens Consciences. Sixthly, That it should be High-Treason in every Man, who, by any Ways or Means whatfoever, should endeavour to restore the King, the House of Lords, or the Government of any fingle Person. Seventhly, No Pensions should be granted out of the Exchequer. Eightly, It should be High-Treason not to obey them, as long as they behaved themselves well.

Without doubt it would have been a long lived Commonwealth, which was to continue no longer than it pleased a Fanatick Multitude. There was such an old Emulation between the two Factions, that they sound it a hard Matter to knit together the divided Minds of the Presbyterians and Anabaptists, and to cement them with mutual Love: But when that was done, all the inferior Sects, which first naturally sprang up from their Dregs,

were always in Readiness.

But now the Friendship of the Brethren being renewed, the Commonwealth seemed to be somewhat restored; and they did not doubt, after this, to obtain the supreme Power. I have collected these Things out of the Proceedings

ceedings of the Cours, which at that time were also published Word for Word.

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In the Beginning of the next Spring, the 1663. King being terrified by fo many Conspiracies, one upon the Neck of another, and being prevailed upon by the Tricks and Treachery of his Courtiers, published a Proclamation to sufpend, in part, the Act of Uniformity; and provided the Schilmaticks would be peaceable for the future, he granted them Liberty of Conscience, so long as they behaved them-This being immediately laid beselves well. fore the Parliament, that by their Permillion also, the Indulgence (as they called it,) to Consciences truly scrupulous might be confirmed: They opposed it with great Zeal, and defended the Law as their Palladium. They fled unto the King, and begged, and implored him not to lessen himself, and his own Authority, fo much as to indulge feditious Men, who, under a Maik of Conicience, meditate nothing but Rebellion. For it the Force and Authority of that Law should be taken away, there would not hereafter be any Fence against Atheifts and wicked Men. The Discipline of Her Centures the Church could not frand. would be despised. Neither did it become the Wisdom and Gravity of the Parliament, to repeal, without Cause, the same Law this Year, which they had made but the Year before. For then the King's Peace would be always leftened; and if he would fuffer himself to be overcome by these Mens Importunities, they would importune him for ever. New Herefies would daily arise from dishonest Liberty, and there would G 2 never

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never be an End of Fanatick Fury. The Church would be left desolate: And lastly, it was Empire, and not Indulgence, which the Schismaticks desired: And as soon as ever they should perceive their Numbers to be strong enough, they would with open Force and Arms, invade the Commonwealth. The King yielded to their Importunity for a time, but never could be brought to recede from his Opinion, until he found, almost too late, by the Event of Things, and the insolent Behaviour of the Schismaticks, that the Parliament was at that time as faithful Counsellors, as they were true

Prophets.

The Parliament rifing on the 30th of July, after they had granted the King a Subfidy, the Factions begin to contrive their Rebellion. A thousand Arms were brought over into England, which had been bought by one Cole in Holland, who had been in every Conspiracy. Libels were dispersed among the common People; and in one of these it was said, that it was lawful for the People to cut off their Kings Heads: That the Law of God did not exempt the King's Person from the two-edged Sword, which he had put into the right Hands of his Saints, to be drawn against the Ungodly of what Quality or Condition foever. Now, if ever, was the Time, for the People of the Lord to fell their Garments, and buy Swords with the Money. That whatfoever Authority the Tyrant has, (meaning the King) he re-ceived it from the People. That we are not the Servants of the Tyrant, but he ought to Therefore, as he behaved himself ferve us. unworthy in his Office, it was lawful to dethrone

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throne him. In another Book they affirmed, that Charles the First was lawfully beheaded. That Penry, Barrow, and the Rest of the Puritan Faction, formerly hanged, were wickedly put to Death; because they had voluntarily, as their Duty required, given Testimony against the Tyranny and Superstition of the Prelates. Laftly, they produced the Example of Ebud killing King Eglon, to the Imitation of the Saints of this Age. But nothing stirred up the People so fiercely, as the Volumes of Sermons, which the ejected Ministers preached, (and afterwards published) to their Congregations, as their Farewel Sermons before the Feast of St. Bartholomew. These Books, which finelt to strong of Sedition, were fold to their Party, and the People of every Parish, from whence any Minister was ejected, being inflamed with Rage and Hatred, purfued with Force and Arms those who had turned them out, as he did of old, pursue those, who took away his Idols from him. By these fraudulent Artifices, they poffeffed the Peoples Minds with fuch implacable Aversion to the King's Government, that they took it for granted, they should never want Voluntiers, when they took up Arms.

While these Things are transacted in England, the same were carried on in Ireland. On the 6th of January, 1662, one Philip Alden, voluntarily discovered to Vernon, who was one of the King's Officers, and a Man of entire Loyalty, a Conspiracy to subvert the Government in all the three Kingdoms. This Alden had been an old Rebel, one who dealt in Proscriptions, and sorfeited Estates, and a

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chief Enemy to the royal Caufe. But Vernon had so much obliged him, by begging his Life of the Lord-Lieutenant, that he promised, in Return for that Kindness, to discover to him every villanous Defign of the Rebels against the King, which should come to his Knowledge: For he had a very great Share in all their Councils, and Ludlow entrusted him chiefly with the Irish Affairs; so that no Man had more Authority among the Rebels. The Conspiracy, therefore, being brought to some Maturity, he ingenuously discovered every Thing to Vernon: That there was a fecret Committee who fat daily in the City of Dublin; that they treated of all Matters among themselves; that they listed Men into their Conspiracy; that they declared the Causes of the War; and affigned to every Officer his Post in the Army. These were fix in Number, besides the Informer; Shapcott, a Colonel, partly a Soldier, and partly a Lawyer, one that did Mi chief with his Teeth as well as his Tongue; Warren and Thomson, Lieutenant Colonels; Sandford, a Captain; Blood, a Lieutenant; and Bond, a Scotch Merchant. Vernon forthwith made a Discovery to the most illustrious Duke of Ormond, who was then Lord-Lieutenant, and to whom he was pretty dear. The Lord Lieute nant fent for the Informer, who laid open to him all the whole Matter, who being allured by Promises, assured him that he would discover every fingle Step, which the Confpirators should take. The principal Leaders of the Army were chosen in the Month of March, and Troops were formed out of their Meetings, which they had now very frequent, with fuch Men

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Men as they had inlifted; and the Forces were furnished with all Necessaries in every Town and Country through all Ireland; and their Ambassies are successfully carried on in England, Scotland, and Holland. All Things being thus made ready to their Minds, the next Year, (which was 1663) they determined to open the War on the 11th Day of May, with the Siege of the Castle of Dublin. The Lord-Lieutenant, to whom every Thing was difclifed, took care to have a great Number of Forces in Readine's, under the Command of his three Sons, who were Men of confummate They took their Posts upon the Bravery. Walls not fo much with a Defign to drive off, as to take the Enemy. But Blood and one Chambers, whom the Conspirators had sent as Spies by Night, when they faw that every Place was fo strictly senced and guarded, haftened back in a very great Fright, to give Intelligence to the Committee that they were They presently dispersed thembetrayed. felves, not doubting the Discovery, in order to wait for another Day more convenient. But the Lord-Lieutenant had so placed Watchmen, that he took some of the principal Leaders within the Walls, who were after. wards tryed, condemned, and hanged for High-Treason. Among these were Warren and Jepb-Jon, Colonels, and Members of the Irish Parliament at the same Time. Besides these, there were nine others of the same Assembly, who being likewise found guilty of the same Crime, were, two Years afterwards, the Parhament having been prorogued to that time, banished by Act of Parliament. Thomson, who was

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was a Captain of the Guards; and Lackey, a Presbyterian Teacher, were hanged. And tho' he alone of all the Teachers was taken, yet there were seven of his Brethren besides, who were his Accomplices and Affociates in the Conspiracy. Their Names were Cox, Chambers, Hart, Cormack, Bains, King, and Char-This Charnock had been Chaplain to nock. Harry Cromwell, advanced to that Dignity by John Owen. He was fent by the Conspirators as their Ambassador to London, and promised them great Assistance; as Gibbs, Carr, and others had done in Scotland and Holland. But the Conspiracy being now discovered, he fled again into England; and changed his Name from Charnock to Clark: He was a Man of great Authority among the Fanaticks, and for a long time was at the Head of a great Affembly, and did not die till ten Years after, Anno 1683, and his Corps was carried through the City with the Pomp of almost a royal Funeral. They declared the Motives of the War, that the King had abused their Patience; that the Protestants, by whose Help alone he was reftored to his Kingdoms, were neglected; that he favoured none but Popish Assassins; that the Mannors, which the Protestants (that is Cromwell's Rebels) had meritoriously obtained, by fuch great Toils and Dangers, he took from them, and gave to the Papifts; that is, that he restored to the right Owners, who were Men of entire Fidelity, those Estates, which Cromwell had given as Rewards to his Soldiers out of the Patrimony of Papists, who stood firm to the King's Party. That he converted a great Tax, which was railed to pay off the

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the difbanded Soldiers of the old Army, to the Benefit of the Papifts. That the Lord-Lieutenant had committed the very same Offence; that he held fecret Correspondence with the Papifis; and that he always took their Parts against the Protestants: Wherefore (say they) let us defend our Country, our Wives, and our Children from utter Destruction. And as the People of Ifrael laid violent Hands upon Saul, although he was a King, when he threatened to kill Jonathan, who was an innocent Man, called Almighty God to witness that he should not die that Day; so we do not doubt but every true Protestant will take up Arms with us, in a Cause so righteous. therefore declare, that every Man ihall enjoy a Liberty of Conscience, by which alone we are fensible that the Protestant Religion can be established; that every one's Property, which he enjoyed before the King's Return, shall be restored to him; and we oblige our selves to give the Army their full Pay. To enable us to do their Things, we doubt not that the Lord of Hofts, the Almighty God of Jacob, will stretch forth his right Hand.

The Witnesses of this Conspiracy, exclusive of the Informer, were Sandford, who was one of their secret Committee; Tanner, Scott, and Foukes, who by Commission were principal Leaders in their Army; and when they were seized, made the same Discovery, which the Informer had done before. But Sir Theophilus Jones was a more considerable Witness than all these. For when the Rebels had consulted chiefly about three Things; first, whether they should kill the King; secondly, the Duke of

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Ormand; and laftly, whether the Army should be under the Command of a General, or a Council of War; having, by one Cormac, ad. vised with the Scotch Presbyterians, they refolved upon the two former, and were of Opinion, that the Army should not be commanded by one Man alone, but by feveral. They chose Ludlow, the Lord Mazarene, Audly Mervin Knight, Richard Ingoldsby Knight, Edward Malley Knight, Henry Cromwell, John Skerington Knight, Colonel Carr, and Theophilm Fones Knight. But he being nearer than any of the Reft, and famous for his Courage and Policy, and a Man of Reputation among the Soldiers, they resolve to try him first, which was done by Jephson. He pretended to promife, that he would be fecret and give his Assistance; when, in the mean Time, having an Aversion to his old Rebellion, he, like a loyal and good Subject, immediately discovered to the Lord-Lieutenant all the Secrets of the Conspiracy, which Jephson had communicated to him; and as they agreed fo well with Alden's Discovery, there was no Room left to discredit the whole Villany. But to fet the better Face upon the Discovery, Discoverer himself was imprisoned with the Reft: And being fent privately into England to the King, by the Lord-Lieutenant, it was pretended that he escaped out of Prison, and, upon that Pretence, truly, he was outlawed.

The King embraced the Man, and commanded him to proceed, and take Part in all their Councils. He was present at every one of them, and did not conceal any Thing from the King. He held a closer Correspondence by writing

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with Ludlow, and brought all his Letters to the King; and discovered whatever was done at home: So that the King had all the Conspirators, as it were, shut up by a Siege, by which all their Designs came to nothing. This Work he performed with the greatest Fidelity to the Year 1666, when he was taken, among others, who were suspected to be in the Conspiracy, by some Body that knew not the Business he was imployed in, and some Letters, directed to him from some of the Duke of Ormand's Servants, were imprudently published, which occasioned his Party to suspect him: Whereupon he lost all Correspondence, and from that time laying down the Charge he had taken, retired to lead a private Life. Among the Conspirators was Thomas Walcott, an old Captain, the same, who, twenty Years afterwards, (that is, 1683) was appointed the Chief of that desperate Conspiracy, in which they defigned to murder the King, and the Duke of Tork, in the Road from New-Market to London. But the Villany being discovered, he was taken, condemned, and carried to the Gallows, where, with his Accomplices, he freely confessed the whole Matter. In his last Words, he, in a threatening Manner, advised the King to take Care of himself; for the Conspiracy was spread so wide throughout the three-Kingdoms, and laid to close, that, if he had a Mind to be fafe, he must make Peace with, and win the Friendship of the Fanaticks; otherwise, he and his dearest Brother would certainly be flain, some time or other, by their Ponyards. In the same Year (that is 1663) the Flame of the Conspiracy broke out larger H 2

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in England; which, if it had not been perceived and extinguished in time, would have spread fuddenly over the whole Kingdom. For, if Part of the Conspiracy had not broke out into War in the northern Counties before the appointed Time, no doubt, but the whole Conspiracy would have suddenly burst out in a Blaze at once. For the Assembly, at London had pitched upon the 12th Day of Odober, on which Day they should all be ready, and stand to their Arms at one Hour; but when they could not get all Things ready enough at London at the Time appointed, (as it often happens) they delayed the Matter twelve Days Jonger. But the North-country Men could not restrain their Zeal so long; for some of them appeared in Arms, on the Day appointed, in Farly Grove, near the Town of Leeds, rich in woollen Manufacture, in the West-riding in Torkshire. These being quickly subdued and taken, discovered the whole Conspiracy; though the King had the Conspirators, as it were, befieged and taken before, as shall be shewn hereafter. The Ringleader of the Conspirators was Thomas Otes, a Captain. The Chief of the Witnesses, who disclosed the Names of their Accomplices, were his two Sons, Ralph Otes, Mafter of Arts, and his younger Brother Samuel, a Name that abounded truly with Rebels and Informers. These Men would have given Evidence upon Oath against their own Father, if the Judges had not forbid it. Although the Thing was so evident without Witnesses, that Otes, the Father, would not venture to put himself upon his Tryal, but, confessing his Villany, implored the King's Mercy. The Libel,

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Libel, I am afraid, in which they declared the Cause of the War, has by chance been loft; but it was made up of these several Articles, as appears by the Testimony of feveral Witnesses, by which all Parties of the Schismaticks might the readier be drawn into the Caule. The first, which was on the Part and Behalf of the Presbyterians, was for refloring the Authority of the old Rebel Parliament; another was for reftoring the ejected Ministers; and then to footh all of them: Liberty of Confcience was to be allowed to every Man: Tythes and Taxes were to be taken off: Laftly, the full and lawful Liberties of their Country, which had been violated by the long Tyranny of Kings, should be renewed by Force and Arms. And, to fay all in one Word, the Fanaticks were for different Reasons, and yet with one Consent, to wage War against the present State of Affairs under Kingly Government.

And therefore the principal Contrivers of this Conspiracy were some Presbyterians, who were ejected on that unlucky Day of St. Bartholemew. The Chief were Richardson, a Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of Rippon, a Maninfamous to the last Degree, for Drunkenness, Leudness, and all Manner of Debauchery: Marsden, sormerly Chaplain to Overton, an Anabaptist Colonel, and Governour of Hull. Richardson had the Management of all Affairs in the Country; Marsden was, for the most Part, their Agent with the Assembly at London, that he might report their Commands to the inferior Councils in the Country, which they declared solemnly at their Meetings.

Both of them, when the Conspiracy was revealed, were banished: Richardson died in Exile; Marsden changed his Name to Ralphson, and lived twenty Years secure in London, and was the Head of a great Assembly; nor did he die till the Year eighty three. These were encreased by other Schismaticks of the same Stamp in other Places. Fisher, late of Sheffield, a Town samous for hard Ware, promised great Numbers of his Workmen; and Hermitage, who was ejected out of Holbec, promised the same. Sledd, a Scotch Minister, who had been ejected out of his Parish in Devonshire, executed the Office of Agent, and Newscarrier, between the English Fanaticks and

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his own Country Men.

But the most active and diligent of them all in this Affair, was one Atkinson, a travel-Jing Pedlar, who, in his little Shop of Trinkets which hung at his Back, carried Letters through all Parts of the Kingdom with incredible Dispatch. Besides, they had their Colonels on every Side in the next Counties of Nottingham, Bishoprick of Durbam, and Lancashire, ready at a Moments warning to be at the Head of their Soldiers, as if they had been hid in their proper Stations. But they were chiefly deceived by those, in whom they had placed their chief Trust, and chief Hopes. Smithson, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel to Lilburn; and Greathead, Lieutenant-Colonel to Lambert, were appointed Generals, the one of the North, and the other of the West-riding of Torkshire. But these truly voluntarily discovered the whole Matter to the Governour of Tork. By which Discovery they lost all Opportunity as

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portunity of Meeting; so that when Otes had hid a few of his Men, by Night, in a Wood, they had scarce parted from one another, by the Break of Day, when many of them were taken from their March, and put into Prison. This was the happy End of such a dangerous Conspiracy. But the King was Master of all their Designs; for in his Speech, which he made to the Parliament, the next Year, on the twenty first Day of May, he thus spake to both Houses.

"You find by the late northern War, that " our old Enemies, to whom we have shewed " fo much Mercy, still retain their old Ha-" tred. But you have not yet fearched into " the Bottom of that Villany. The least Part " of the Conspiracy, believe me, is not yet " found out, which is the Offspring of that " old one, which I discovered to you two Years " ago, which encreases, and is spread daily " in all Parts. But I know all their Defigns; " and truly, if I had not been well acquaint-" ed with the very Hour, and the different " Places of their Rendevouze in the North; " and if I had not taken them up, not only " with the Militia, but also with my own " Guards, they would truly, in great Num-" bers, have broke into open War.

"Do not think that it is suppressed by the Punishment of a few; for at the very same Moment that they see their Accomplices carried to the Gallows; yet then, and there, they proceed to perpetrate their detestable Deeds. I very well know that they keep a Correspondence with the most mischievous and desperate Men in every County; and

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"there is a great Affembly in this City, by whose Advice every Thing is transacted in the Country, and by their Command they happily delayed their last Conspiracy, so when, by their Imprudence, it was broke and divided, it then quickly miscarried, I am better acquainted with all the Defigns, than they, with all their Cunning, do imagine, and, I hope, I shall soon discover to you all their Villany. In the mean Time, let us all be more diligent and watchful for the Preservation of the Commonweal,

" than they are for its Destruction."

Hence it appears, by the King's own Teftimony, who clearly perceived all their Defigns, what was the State and Condition of Affairs at that time. That they had not, of ever would be at Peace with him; that they had brought on a mortal Wat, which was not to be ended, but by the total Destruction of one of other, or perhaps (as it often happens) of both. For at the same Time, that these Things were done in the North, they flirred up the People to Rebellion by infamous Libels. For as the 12th of October was the Day appointed for taking Arms, some little Papers were feized at the Preis four Days before, wet, and almost worked off. In these they extolled the horrid Murder of King Charles the First. They faid, that a Deed fo glorious, and fo pious had not been done fince the Times of the Apostles. That the holy Martyrs themselves, quitting Heaven, would willingly suffer again for a Cause so very good. That no pious Man upon Earth would refuse it. That they who did not come to their Afliftance, would go

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go to the Devil headlong. That the City, County, or Town, which did not join in this Revolt, would perish by divine Vengeance; and such like. Four Printers were taken, and one of them, whose Name was Twiny was hanged: The three others were imprisoned, and two of them died in a very short time with Grief and Anguish of Mind. Their Funerals were attended (according to Custom) with a Train of at least three thousand People.

In the Beginning of the next Year, which 1664. was 1664, a War against the Dutch was begun 1665. on the 24th of April, by the unanimous Confent of both Houses of Parliament. For, whereas, they had every where in the most contemptuous Manner, by their daily Abuses and Piracies, spoiled the English Merchants, they added the Summer before to those private Abuses, publick, and perhaps to that Day unheard-of Treachery. For when the English and Dutch, at the Request of the latter, fent their confederate Fleets against the Algerine Rovers; while Lawon, Admiral of the King's Fleet, with equal Loyalty and Courage, purfued the Enemy; Ruyter, who was Admiral of the Dutch Fleet, by Command of the States General, sheer'd off by Stealth to the Coasts of Guinea, and, without declaring War, invaded with Force and Arms the English, who were scattered up and down that Country. This Villany kindled fuch Passion and Indignation in the Hearts of the English, that they never before were so vehemently tinanimous, as they now were to revenge this Treachery. However, a Year was ipent in making Preparations for War, and in demanddemanding a full Peace, if it could possibly be done. But when the King's Ambassadors were treated with Reproach and Contempt, in the Beginning of the next Spring, on the 20th Day of May, the King's Fleet failed out of Port for the War; the Event of which we shall shew in the next Year's Affairs. In the mean Time, when the Schismaticks perceived the King to be embarraffed with fo great a Weight of War, they lifted themselves up with more than usual Boldness. The King and Parliament on the other Hand, having experienced the Boldness, and wicked Disposition of the Faction, resolved to clip their Insolence by stricter Laws, left being engaged in a foreign War, they should be perplexed with domestick Infurrections. For the Parliament had scarce come to a Resolution against the Dutch, but immediately Complaints were daily laid before them from every Part of the Kingdom, concerning the untractable and tumultuous Afsemblies of the Fanaticks. Hereupon the old Law of Queen Elizabeth, made in the 35th Year of her Reign, against the Assemblies of Fanaticks, was renewed and enlarged.

For the first Offence the Schismaticks were fined five Pounds; for the second, ten Pounds; for the third they were to suffer Banishment, and if they returned without Leave, they were to be put to Death. Afterwards, all Cromwell's Officers were by Proclamation ordered to depart twenty Miles from the City of London. The Justices of Peace and Deputy Lieutenants of the Counties, encouraged by the King's and Parliament's Example, dispersed their Meetings in all Towns and Cities. When the Schis-

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maticks faw that this was done in earnest, they quickly obeyed. The Quakers only were obstinate; for they scarce accounted any Act so religious as to relift human Authority. Therefore they met the oftner because they were forbid, nor could they, by any Force, be drawn away from one another, till a merry Fellow hit upon this Stratagem. He proclaimed, in the King's Name, that it should not be lawful for any one to depart without his Leave; and he had scarce done this, when they all went away, that it may not be faid, that they obeyed any Man. And yet these Fellows did not continue obstinate very long; for when they found that their Friends were taken daily. and transported, as Exiles, to the English Plantations in America, and that they could not return to their own Country, without hazarding their Lives, being fore afraid, they began to take off the outward Man, as these Enthusiasts call it; So that the Opportunity of meeting together being taken away from the Sectaries, through all the Kingdom, they remained very quiet that Year, and no Tumult enfued. the same Time the like was proclaimed and done in Scotland. And whereas they had then translated Buchanan's Book, entitled, the Right of the Kingdom of Scotland, into their own Language, that they might thereby, in a more plentiful Manner, bewitch the Peoples Minds by drawing them from their Loyalty and Obedience; the Reading that Book was prohibited by a threatening Proclamation illued by the King's Council. This is what was done, by Act of Parliament, in the Year 1584, against the Latin Book. But no sooner had I 2 one one Plague ceased, when another began to spread, which raged almost throughout the whole Kingdom, and made the greatest Havock that ever had been known in the Memory of Man, sweeping away two hundred thousand Men. This occasioned the Parliament to be prorogued to the next Year, nor were they summoned to meet till the Month of October, at Oxford, the Necessity of Affairs

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then requiring them to fit.

Although a Plague usually occasions a Respite from War, yet now there was no Cessation of Arms. For the Duke of Tork, Lord High-Admiral of England, sitted out, with incredible Expedition, the compleatest Fleet, that ever sailed from an English Port. And in the Beginning of Spring, having a strong Desire to come to an Engagement, that he might encrease his Glory, besieged the Dutch Coasts near two Months. Nor did our Fleet see the Enemy's till the first Day of July, and they came to an Engagement on the Fisth. Opdam, who commanded their Fleet, was trained up in Sea Wars; he was of noble Birth, and a gallant Man, and had the greatest Experience in maritime Affairs.

But the Duke of Tork, (tho' he was the most consummate General at that time by Land) had scarce ever seen a Sea Engagement before. Yet with how great a Destruction of Men and Ships did this young Seaman overthrow the old Admiral! Opdam himself, with sour Sea Captains, eight thousand Men, and eighteen Ships, Half of which were first Rates, perished in one Day's Fight. The Rest sled; and perhaps not so much as a Fishing-boat had escaped,

if Night, or rather Treachery, had not intervened between the Battle and Victory. But the Number of Prisoners was so great, that a new Fleet of Sailors and Soldiers seemed to return into Port. For such was always the Duke's Clemency in War, that he chose to spare the Blood of his Enemies, as much as he could, as though they had been his own Countrymen. Therefore he sent out his light Fregates to assist the Dutch, who were in great Danger at Sea; so that the English Fleet, as if it were doubled, returned safe into Port, as has been said before, with the Loss only of one

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While the whole Nation laboured under the heavy Calamities of Pestilence, and War at the same Time, the Schismaticks on the other Hand put themselves in Hopes of Liberty; nor do they ever think themselves happy, but Therefore, in the Diffress of their Country. while the Minds of all good Men were employed about other Affairs, they also endeavour, with their utmost Efforts, to restore their own, being follicitous, and watching every Change of Fortune. If the King's Fleet had been beaten, they would prefently have confented to open War: But as it vanquished the Enemy's, their Conspiracy was delayed to another time. Nor did they conspire against their Country at home only, but abroad also, and with the Enemy. For at that very Juncture another Assembly of Rebels sat in Holland, who joined their Councils with the very States themselves, though there was a meer Carthaginian War with them to that Time. Many Volunteers entered themselves on Board the Enemies Fleet, being moved thereto by the Love of Rebellion, and Hatred of their Country. And some of these were judged to have merited the greatest Power in the Re-

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But the Schismatical Preachers were the most seditious of all, who having been suppressed the Year before, and now at Liberty, by the Kingdom's being concerned in other Affairs, rage every where with the sharper Fury. The People being again assembled in their Conventicles, they preach nothing else to them but Persecution and Tyranny: That this, perhaps, was the Time to renew their Liberty; and, that in all probability they might not have another, if the War should be prosperously concluded. Lastly, Cromwell's Of ficers were fo far from despairing of better Succefs, though they had been greatly difinayed by fo many and fo great Misfortunes of their Accomplices, that being rather more fiercely provoked, and made more outragious, they would now at length put it to the last Tryal. This gave Birth to a new Conspiracy, which, however, was prevented by the great Care and Vigilance of the Duke of Albemarle, before it could break out into open Force. They afsembled together at London in great Numbers from every Part; where they thought they could more eafily conceal themselves, by the Largeness of the City, and by one general Affault from all Sides, furprize the Enemy before they could take up their Arms. But that they might the better accomplish the Matter, they resolved to burn the City of London. they would have done on the second of September,

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tember, on the very same Day truly, and in the fame Manner, as indeed it was burned the Year following. And they were perfuaded to this, not only by the Prediction of one Lilly, a cunning Man, but by the Aspect of the Stars; when, at that very time, they faid, a Planet would rule, which denoted the everlasting Destruction of Monarchy. But the Conspiracy being seasonably discovered, the chief Leaders were taken and hanged; Rathbone, Sanders, Tucker, Flint, Evans, Miles, Westcot, and Cole. The Rest of the Conspirators escaped. was one Man, whose Sir-name was Alexander. an old Soldier in Cromwell's Army, and Lieutenant-Colonel in Cromwell's own Regiment, and is still alive, who was the Ringleader of this Conspiracy. This Man paid the Rebels all their Subfistance-Money, he assigned them their Posts through the City, and had the chief Management of the War. However, when this Man, with the Rest of his Companions, repented of their Offence, or rather Misfortune, because all their Endeavours were laughed at; they afterwards, that they might be quiet, the King granted them a Pardon for all their Crimes. Having obtained this, he did not scruple to give a Detaile of the whole Matter to his Friends in private Conversation, and over a Bottle. From whom I received this, and much more, agreeable to the Records of the Court. I knew those, to whom he merrily shewed in the Room, in which the States of the Commonwealth (for by that Name he called the Affembly of the Rebels,) had their Sellions, and from whom he received Instructions to be fent to the Conspirators abroad. Nor

Nor that only, for there was another Assembly in Holland, and they both corresponded with one another, and with the States also; nor were they to conclude on any Thing against their Country, but by the common Advice of

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This was the very same Alexander, who, though he had always behaved himfelf gallantly in Cromwell's Rebellion, and never feared any Danger in the feveral Conspiracies against the King; yet afterwards in Monmouth's Rebellion, where he was a Colonel of Horfe, he was ftruck, as it were, with a pannick Fear, and could not bear the very Sight of the Enemy, or go to Battle, but was one of the first that fled, if any of them may be faid to turn their Backs before the Rest. Whether his Courage failed him through a Consciousness of his Crimes, or whether his Heart fuddenly fainted, (as is fometimes reported of brave Men) or whether old Age had rendered him impotent, (whatever it was) fuch abject Cowardice in a Man fo frout and gallant, was the Wonder of all those who were present at the Action. But as he was one of the first that fled, so he escaped from Danger; and being now attainted for High Treason, he either lies hid at home, of lives in Exile abroad. Such is the innate Fierceness of these Men to Rebellion, that no Kindness can root it out, or old Age bring it into difuse; but the their Bodies have not Strength enough to accomplish their Villanies, yet their Spirits have Vigour enough to attempt them. But the Madness of Alexander was not fingular, it was common to all the Horse-Men. For these setting upon the Enemy suddenly,

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in the Dead of Night, as foon as the first Gun was discharged from the King's Forces, betook themselves to Flight, as one Man. So that they were equally ignorant whether there had been any Fight at all, nor did any one of them know what his Companions, or he himfelf did. Nor could the Officers and Soldiers, who were taken, make any other Answer to the King, which he asked them on the Field of Battle, which Way, or how near they came to the Enemy, in what Place the Battle began, how long it continued, from whence they began to fly; and laftly, whither they went after their Flight: Than, that finding they had fallen in with the Enemy, but where they knew not all their Cavalry was broke, as if it had been by common Confent. Then straggling in the Dark, as foon as Day-light appeared, they flipt into their nearest strong Holds, and News being brought of the entire Victory of their Companions, (for they frood to it for some time) every one provided for his own Safety, just as Fortune was pleased to order it. This was the Conduct of that Duke, who had performed the Part of a great General, who had tryed all the Dangers of War, who, with a prefumptuous, and perhaps before that time unheard-of Rashness, had taken Maestrick, who in the bloody Battle of Mons diftinguished himself with the greatest Bravery; this, I say, was the foolish Conduct of that great General. But to return to the Course of the Annals.

The Parliament being provoked with the frequent Routs of the Rebels, refolved by one Law to root out all those Evils. By this all the Preachers were banished five Miles from

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every City, Town, and from the very Parish from which they had been ejected, except they would take this Oath: That it was unlawful to take up Arms against the King, upon any Pretence whatfoever; that from their Conscience they abhorred that damnable Position, that it was lawful to rife up in War against him by his Authority, or against those who were commissioned by him; lastly, that they would not endeavour to make any Innovation in the Commonweal, or in the Church: Unless they would do this, they were to be fined forty Pounds, and if they did not pay the Money, to fuffer Imprisonment for fix Months, and were to undergo the same Punishment as often as they should offend. A few took the Oath. Many were compelled to go into the Country, where, when they faw there were not Abundance of Men, nor an Opportunity of skulking, they lived, for the most Part, very quiet. Nor, indeed, were the Schismaticks ever so much dispirited by any Law, as by this. The domestick Enemy therefore being secured by this Law, they brought the foreign One to Subjection, by paffing another Law. All the Subjects of England, who had fled abroad, and refided in the United Provinces, were commanded, by Act of Parliament, to return into their own Country, in three Months time, upon pain of being guilty of High-Trea-Ion. Among these, Dolman, Bamfield, and Scot, the Son of the Parricide Scot, were fummoned nominally; Fellows that deserved to be proscribed for ever. And presently, by the King's Proclamation, John Desborow, Thomas Kelly, and many others of Cromwell's Officers, with the

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the Rest of the Rebels, were called home under the same Penalties. They who came, had Permission, as a Reward of their Obedience, to live fafe in their own Country; they who refused, were punished with perpetual Banish. ment.

In the Year following, a new War was be- 1666. gun; or the old one rather renewed, the French and Dutch having entered into an Alliance against England. On the 1st of July the English Fleet sailed out of Port. Soon after Intelligence was brought to the Privy-Council, either by the Artifice of the Enemy, or the Treachery of some Body else, that the French Fleet were near at hand; but that the Dutch would scarce be ready to put to Sea in a Fortnight. That the Enemies therefore might be deftroyed, before they could join their Fleets, Rupert Prince Palatine, who had equal Power and Authority, with the Duke of Albemarle, over the King's Fleet, was commanded to meet the When he had failed with half the Fleet against the Enemy, who were not come out of Port, the Dutch on a sudden, as it were by Surprize, let upon the other Squadron of the Fleet with a double Number of Ships. Albemarle, unacquainted with Fear, and not accustomed to Flight, and at the same Time having the Enemy in great Contempt, for he had long and often tryed the Courage of the Dutch, chearfully bore up to give them Battle. The Engagement lafted three Days with incredible Fierceness; while the greatest Part of the English Fleet lay immoveable, having loft their Masts and their Yards; and engaged the K 2

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the Enemy, as if it had been a Land-Fight. In which Juncture, Rupert, whom the Noise of the Cannon had reached afar off, came feafonably with full Sails to the Relief of his Friends. And now, immediately, a fierce Engagement began with the Enemy, who were in great doubt what to do. And the English fought with fuch Ardour, being inflamed, as well with Anger as Revenge, that they had almost overcome the Dutch, who were amazed at their uncommon Method of Fighting. For they did not fuffer them (as is usual) to fire their Cannon at a diffance, but breaking into their Centre, poured in their Broad-fides upon them from every Quarter. But at length, in the Evening, Rupert's Mast being broke, the Battle ceased. In the mean Time the Dutch, being Thunder-struck at this insupportable Onfet, advisedly sheered off. But because they once got off without being intirely destroyed, they spread great Reports throughout all Europe of so great a Victory over the English, as if one little Veffel had not been loft; and to confirm this they stampt several Medals. But yet, when they came to another Engagement in the Month of August, they hardly made a Stand for four Hours. For, four Vice-Admirals, and fix Captains being killed in fo fhort a time, and two Vice-Admiral Ships being deftroyed, overcome with fuch great Power, they bore away on every Side. Tromp only, with his Squadron, engaged another of the English, with his usual Bravery and Courage, till the Evening: But being for saken by his Countrymen, privately sheered off by Night. The English now blocked up their Ports, and their Coasts,

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Coafts, challenging them, in vain, to an Engagement. But at last, before they sailed away, a little Veffel, called, by way of Jest, the Faufan, that is, the Trifle, having two fmall Guns on Board, being fent into the Harbour, attacked Admiral Ruyter's Ship, and fired often at him; but at length, having fuffered a little by two small Balls, the returned to her own Fleet, the Spectators laughing heartily on one Side, and freting on the other, at the Contempt put upon to proud a Nation. This was the Conclusion of that Affair. when the Conspiracy had been universal, Scotch, not daunted by the Destruction of their Allies, would not go back from the Confederacy which they had undertaken to defend. Those little preaching Fellows, who were punished the Year before by the same Law, as the English Schismaticks were, broke out among the Chief of the others with equal Fury. For the English were banished only five Miles from any Town or City, but these were banished twenty Miles from their own Parishes, fix from a City, and three from a Town; nor were two of them suffered to settle in the dame Village. Being therefore provoked at the great Affront, offered to the Saints of God, they stirred up the People with unwearied Pains to fight the Battles of the Great Jebovah.

But all their Defigns, as well as those of the Rest of their Conspiracy, were laid before the King. He therefore watched all the Steps of the Rebels, that they might not move a Foot surther than he pleased. At length, when he perceived that the Affair would come to Arms, he hastened to restrain them by Force. There

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were two Officers, who had got great Reputation in War, Deyell and Drummond, who, in the Heat of Rebellion against Charles the First. having flood with inviolable Fidelity on the King's Side, and being driven out of their Country in Cromwell's Time, fled to White Rusha, now called Muscovy; where, by their gallant Behaviour, having merited their Pay, they proved themselves, in a short time, to be fo famous for their Conduct, that to them was given the Command of all the Forces of the Kingdom. Deyell had the first Place of Command, and Drummond the fecond. In which high Authority they lived many Years, to their own, as well as to their Country's Glory. At length, Charles the Second, this very Year, by the Letters which he sent to the Czar, required that they might have Leave to return to their own Country. The Czar, though he was unwilling to part with Men who were fo ferviceable, and in fuch Authority, yet because he was obliged to do it by the common Law of Nations, dismissed them with the greatest Honour and Liberality. Being arrived at London, and received with that Favour which they deserved, they were presently sent into Scotland, that they might have the same Command over all the Forces of that Kingdom, which they had in Muscowy; where they formed two Brigades of old Soldiers, the one of Foot, commanded by Deyell, and the other of Horse, under the Command of Drummond. Arriving in Scotland in the Month of August, they dispatched Matters with fuch Care and Vigilance, that they had got an Army ready, disciplined, and fit for Battle, before the first Day of November. The

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The Fanaticks were a little shocked, but not frightened at these Forces; although the Confpiracy broke forth into open War a little fooner than they themselves had resolved upon. There was one Man famous in Peace and War, Sir fames Turner Knight, and Colonel of Foot; of a pleasant Wit, and lively Eloquence, and a bitter Enemy to the Fanatick Tribe. Befides, he had been fent some Years before, by Command of the King's Council, to suppress the Faction. For, whereas the Earl of Middleton, the first Lord High Commissioner after the King's Return, had, in the Year 1662, commanded all the Ministers to obey the Bishops, or else to resign their Parishes; most of them hid themselves in the Western Parts. Turner was first sent, by the King's Cabinet Council, to quell these Men, who rose every Day in Tumults. He, in the Beginning, (that is, of the Year 1663) treated the Fanaticks merrily; and without inflicting any Pain or Forfeit, won many of them by the Sweetness of his Behaviour. Next Year, he being called away to Glasgow, the People returned to their Conventicles; but coming back the Year following, he restrained them from open Rage for some time, partly by his Authority, and partly by Admonition. But when he was called away a fecond Time, their Meetings were haunted more than ulual. In the Year, therefore, 1666, when, by Command of the Council, he exercised a stricter Authority over them, especially in demanding their Fines, on a fudden near two hundred armed Men fet upon him in his Winter-Quarters, at Dunfrize, on the 18th Day of November, as he lay fick in his Bed, and

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and his Soldiers quartered up and down in the next Villages; and taking from him a great Quantity of Money, which he had ready to pay the Soldiers, carried him away Prisoner, The next Day the Leader of this Rout, who had pretty well enriched himself with Turner's Money, packing up his Knapfack, deferted his Accomplices. Who, or what he was, or from whence he came, not one of them could tell, except that he called himself Gray, and said that his Authority was given to him by a super rior Power. But what that Power was, or how fettled, they were all equally ignorant. They were fo much inflamed with Sedition, that being lifted by a Person unknown to them, they would haften to Arms in a Moment's Warning. I believe, indeed, that he was not one of the Faction, but a cunning Knave, who, when he came by chance to the Knowledge of the Conspiracy, used this Artifice by way of Robbery; and having good Success therein, the Ghoft vanished, and from that Time was not to be found. Next Day three other Men were fet up in the Place of the lost General; one of whom was Robinson by Name, and he was a Preacher. The Day after John Wells joined them, who was an infamous Fellow, and a Preacher of Sedition, and the Gospel, at the same Time. Both these Holders-forth went presently to visit Turner, and endeavoured to draw him to their Side, fometimes with Threats, and sometimes with fair Promises. He, either out of Jest or Contempt, ordered some Ale to be brought. Robinson, before he would suffer him to drink, thus bleffed the Liquor, calling bold ly upon God, That, without Delay, he would come

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come and affift his boly Army, threatening vehemently that they would all for sake him, if he did not come; for it was his, and not their Cause: And therefore, if he would not fight for himself, it was not their Business to fight for a Coward. These were the very Words, believe me, of this mad Enthusiast. On the 28th Day of Offober, which was Sunday, a Council of their Leaders was held, (in which there were two and thirty Presbyterian Preachers,) and they ordered the Solemn League and Covenant to be administred to their Army, by way of a general Purgation. At which time there was a Dispute among them, whether they should take away Turner's Life; for one of the Articles of the Covenant was, that they should bring all Malignants to condign Punishment. They refolved to put him to Death; but there was a great Controversy among them, whether they should slay the Victim immediately, or preferve him for a more solemn Sacrifice: length, their Opinion prevailed who were for deferring it, because that would make the Punishment the more severe. Then they proceeded to tempt the gallant Man, who had not had any Sleep, with the Fear of Death. He faid, that he did not fear Death, but fince he must die, it signified nothing to him whether it were by a Fever, a Pistol, a Poniard, an Ax, or an Halter. At length, on the 29th of November, the King's Army found out the Enemy, after whom they had marched a long While, two Miles from Edinburgh; and engaging prefently, they fought stifly on both Sides. Drummond began the Battle with one hundred Horse against three Hundred of the Enemy.

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Enemy. At the first Onset, Crookshank and Mac Cormac, the two greatest Leaders among the Rebels, and Trumpeters of War, were killed: They had been old Soldiers, and old Preachers. The Rest stopped, being frightened at the Death of these two Men. Presently Ogilby, with another Body of Horse, advanced to the Enemy, between whom there was a fout, but doubtful Battle. But the King's Horse, being wearied with the Numbers of the Enemy, retreated a little; to whose Relief Devell fent the Right-Wing of his Horse. These being too close in a narrow Place, were an Hindrance to each other: Which the Left Wing of the Enemy perceived, and made a very warm attack upon them; fo that the King's Forces were obliged to give Ground, But being brought into Order, they frood the Enemy's Attack. But when Lermont, who had formerly been a Tayler, but now Commander of the Right-Wing of the Rebels, observed the Disorder of the Royalists Right Wing; he imprudently marched from the Ground, where he had drawn up against Drummond; so that Victory was the easier obtained, where it first began As foon as Drummond, and the illustrious Duke Hamilton, (who freed apart on the opposite Side, with a choice Body of referved Horse,) perceived this, they flanked the Enemy with fo much Vigour, that their Foot being driven upon one another, they were put into Diforder and rout The Rebels were not more than twelve hundred in Number, and a third Part of them had provided for their own Safety by running away before the Battle began; for eighteen hundred had fworn, by the Covenant, that they and

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they would not defert. So that there is no true Courage without the Affurance of a good Conscience. Eighty were flain, and as many taken; but because the Battle was begun at the Approach of Night, the Flight was greater than the Slaughter, The Word of Battle, which the Rebels used that Day, was Covenant. The Prisoners laid all the Blame of their Villany upon their Preachers: About thirty were hanged at Edinburgh and Glasgow, among whom was Robinson, whom we mentioned before to have faid Grace over the Ale. When the Fight began, Wells and Semplar, Preachers, and chief Anthors of the Conspiracy, retired to a Mountain behind their Forces, continually bellowing out, The God, the God of Jacob. These truly were more prudent than their Companions, not only because it is fafer to pray than to fight, and there is less danger in the Business of a Preacher, than a Soldier; but because they who are the last in the Battle, may be the first in running away: And thus thele two escaped far before their Companions. The Generals, Deyell and Drummond, were, as a Reward for the Victory, admitted into the Council; and very deservedly: For if they had not purfued the Enemy with unwearied Expedition and Diligence, they would have flocked together in great Numbers from all Sides. For (as I faid) there was an univerfal Confpiracy, to which, when they had feafonbly put a Stop by this Battle, they broke entirely the Force and Heart of the Faction. Though the Nobility, with the greatest Fidelity and Bravery, ran about to suppress the Rebels, among these, Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Atbol, Linlithgow, L 2

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and Kelly, did chiefly fignalife themselves by their Courage and Vigilance; yet Duke Hamilton's Glory shone the brightest, because the Beginning of the Victory begun with the Body of Horfe, which he commanded. This is what I received from Drummond himself; all the Rest I had, partly from him, and partly from Sir James Turner, who wrote daily Journals of the Transactions in both Armies. which Journals Drummond, with his own Hands, kindly delivered to me. Turner being in the Power of the Enemy after the Battle, was in greater Danger than before; for his Keepers had Orders to flay him immediately, if the Rebels should be conquered; otherwise they were to referve him for a more fevere Punishment, as they served the most illustrious Earl of Montross, whom they hanged upon a Gibbet thirty Foot high; which coming to Turner's Knowledge, he faved himself by this Policy. When the Battle began, he thus spoke with fair Words to his Guards, (who were eight in Number, that had Charge of him:) " This Night, my Friends, either you or we " shall get the Victory. If you conquer, I " shall remain, as I now am, your Prisoner, " not expecting to be fet free, but by Death: " But if we get the Battle, you and I are " in equal Danger. If, therefore, you will " preserve me from your Men, if they hap. pen to be put to Flight; I will not only " defend you from ours, but will get you a Par-" don for your Rebellion, and will take care " that every one of you shall return in Safety " to your own home". To this they all agreed. But when he considered how little Fidelity there

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there was in those Men, he advised them to ratify their Agreement by an Oath, with their Hands lifted up to Heaven. For that was the Ceremony they used in taking the Solemn League and Covenant. The ceremonial Part of this new Argeemeent was foarce finished, when the Rebels began to fly; seeing which, four of the Keepers fled: He, with the Rest, furrendered themselves to some of Duke Hamilton's Horse, who, as they were the first in conquering, fo they were also in pursuing. These overjoyed at Turner's Safety, brought him to the Duke. He embraced him with the greatest Joy, and carried him to the Generals, (to whom he was very dear, as also to the Duke) and being received by them with equal Kindness, he begged the Lives and Liberties of the Guards. They readily granted his Request, for joy that they found a Man of so much Gallantry, whose Life they had so long despaired of, was alive. Thus ended not only this fourteen Days War, but all the Wars of

In the very same Year happened the great and dreadful Fire of London; and on the very same Day (as I said before) which the Rebel-Fanaticks had appointed; by which the Flames consumed, in sour Day's Time, that vast Number of Buildings. All within the Walls was almost levelled with the Ground; and the Fire spreading wide without the Gates, made a great Havock in the Suburbs. Above thirty thousand Houses were reduced to Ashes, upwards of ninety Churches, together with St. Paul's Church; the Royal-Exchange; Guildhall; Sion-College; many Hospitals; and a great ma-

ny other Buildings, as well Sacred as Profane, all which had taken up 56 Acres of Ground.

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When, at the King's Command, a Computation was made of the great Loss and Daniage, by Men skillful in such Affairs, the Estimation amounted to very near ten hundred thousand Pounds. Men differed in their Opinions concerning the Beginning of the Fire. Some would have it, that it happened by chance, others by Treachery, and some were of Opinion, that it came by divine Vengeance. For, as there was a Ward at the same Time, with the French and the Dutch, the common People cried out that the Enemies fired the City; though (as is usual in every such Tumult) many there were who attributed this deteftable Piece of Villany to the implacable Rage and Hatred of the Papists against a Protestant City. But there were some Fanaticks, who whispered to one another, that it was done by Command, and continued by the very Guards. Such is the Malepertness of that Tribe, that they load the best Things with Reproach. For when a Stop was put to it every where, by almost the only Help and Affistance of the King and his Guards; but chiefly by the indefatigable Pains and Vigilance of the Duke of Tork; Can there be a greater Indication of Ingratitude, than to charge them with being the Incendiaries? But if it was done by Treachery, it was by their own; when, it appears, not only by the publick Records of the Court, but by the Confessions of those who were convicted, that they had intended to fet Fire to the City on that very Day; fo that if it happened by human Means, they ought to take the Blame from others,

thers, and lay it upon themselves. But, fince that City was the Tower and Head of that horrible Rebellion against Charles the First, many believed that it came from God as a Punishment for that Villany. Especially fince the Fire raged chiefly in those Places, wherein the first Tumults were raised against that good and best of Kings; from whence, soon after, that wicked, that cruel, that destructive War flamed out. But, though I account it Rashness to interpret the Secrets of divine Providence. yet I cannot enough wonder, when I read of so great a Calamity, which was confidently foretold some Years before. For in the Year 1653. Zeigler of Lipfick wrote a Book against the Regicides, particularly against Milton, wherein the Prophet, with some warmth, thus spoke to that rebellious City.

"Thou, that art now proud London, in a "little time shall be no more; nay, if all my "Notions, and all the Maxims of Policy de"ceive me not, you are near your Destruc-

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But if it happened by the same Chance, as other great Calamities do in human Affairs, we should not wonder so much that the Fire spread so far, as that it did not spread farther; if we consider the Situation of the Place, where it first broke out.

It began in a Baker's Shop, in a dark Night, among a Parcel of wooden Houses, rotten with Age. All these took Fire upon the Flames first breaking out, the Wind being then in the East. The Lanes and Streets adjoining to these were narrow, and Stores of Oil, Pitch, Sulphur, Bitumen, Flax, Hemp, Tallow, and other

other Merchandize, that are apt to feed the Flames, were lodged therein. The Fire having seized upon these, burned, like Ætna and Vesuvius, not only within its own Furnace, but sent forth Balls, which spread abroad; so that new Flames broke out in many Places, at a great Distance from one another. Nor did the Fire seize upon the Houses only, but the very Air also, which conveyed it to all the losty Buildings with incredible Swistness, before the Strength of the Flames could reach them. Hence the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, samous for the Height of its Steeple, burned with great Violence, before the Fire could make its Way to it through the other Buildings.

But how great Damage foever the Citizens and Inhabitants suffered by so great a Devastation, yet it rose out of its own Ashes with fuch a national Splendour, that they were scarce forry it was burnt, fince from a wooden City, it became a Marble one. For the Structure of the Houses was so beautiful and majestick, that there is not a City in the World its equal. A Stranger would take the Tradefmans Houses for Gentlemens Seats, and the Dwellings of Merchants for the Palaces of Princes. Thus did the City not only increase in Beauty but Extent; for the new One was near double the Magnitude of the Old. Nor is it more improved in its Buildings, than in its Reformation.

The End of the FIRST BOOK.



Bishop PARKER's

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HE King being tired with these fatal Calamities of Plague and Fire, yielded to the Persuasions of two neighbouring Princes, the French and the Swede, to enter into a Treaty of Peace with the

Dutch. But while the Embassadors and Miniflers of those Princes, were debating together, the Dutch truly, at the very Time they were M entering

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entering upon that Peace which they themselve had begged, contrary to the Law of Nations and the very Honour of making War, came by Surprise upon the English Fleet, then laid up and unrigged. But it they had managed Matters with as much Courage as Treachery, they might have destroyed the whole Fleet without endangering their own; but being very much affrighted at their prefumptuous Attempt, they returned not fo much with Victory as in Triumph, having taken a few Ships, and burned four: Neither had it been a difficult Matter, even for the Dutch, to have overcome the whole English Fleet, which, at that time, was unarmed and unman'd. Otherwife they never were fuccessful in their Engagements with the English; except in this Piece of Treachery, or once before when our Fleet was divided, one half being on an Expedition against the Dutch, the other against the French; in which Case, perhaps, the Dutch sailed away with a Share of martial Honour, equal to half our English Fleet. For, though they had their Tromps, Opdams, and Ruyters, and other famous Admirals, yet the Admirals of the English Navy were more puissant, and the Seamen much braver. Nay, granting that the Admirals were equally brave and skilful, yet the very Sailors, by their Courage and Chearfulness, always obliged the Enemy to sheer off. Supposing Tromp to be a Match for Blake, as he was a Man of great Courage; yet by the unequal Bravery of his Men, he was overcome in three Engagements. Let him be superiour in his Skill in Sea-Affairs to Monk, who was a Land Officer, yet to him he refigned a great Victory,

1652.

1653.

Victory, and his Life also, twenty seven Dutch Ships having been taken or destroyed. I have mentioned in the former Year, how great a Victory, the Duke of Tork, who was a great General at Land, but no way expert in maritime Affairs, or accustomed to naval Engagements, obtained (though a fresh Water Soldier) over Opdam, who was an old Sea-Man, the very first Day their Fleets came up with one another. Lastly, allowing Ruyter to have more Experience than any other Admiral; yet he scarce ever durst engage the English, but when he had a double Number of Ships; and was always obliged to fly, except once, when he

engaged half our Fleet.

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Even in this Expedition, or Piracy, shall I call it, they attempted nothing that was honourable; for when they had occasion to fight, tho they aimed at many Things, yet they sheered off without compatting their Point, having been repulfed with the greatest Disgrace. For when Edward Spragg, a Man, who was the Love and Delight of all Men, as well for his warlike Bravery, as the Sweetness of his Temper, had got about nineteen Brigantines, and placed them at the Mouth of the Thames, together with a few Firelhips, he prevented the Enemy from returning into the River, though they had fought two Days. Afterwards, making a Descent upon the Coast of Suffolk, under an Officer who was one of Cromwell's Fugitives, they attacked Languard Fort. Darrell, an old Officer under Charles the First, was Governour; a Man of equal Fidelity to his King, and Bravery against his Enemy. He suffered them to erect Scaling-ladders, and, as they were mount-M 2

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ing, he fallyed out upon them, and beat them down, and made a great Destruction of the Dutch. When they attempted to scale the Walls a fecond Time, he routed them, having killed about two hundred, and leaving their Ladders against the Walls, they immediately haftened to the Fleet. Laftly, having failed round almost the whole Island, they tryed every Place that favoured a Descent, Bottle mouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth, with the same Fortune, being repulsed with Loss and Difgrace. Thus they continued fealing Sheep out of the Fields, till almost the End of August, when the Peace was made. Dolman, that inveterate Enemy to his Country, and John de Wit, who at that time had the fole Administration of the Dutch Commonwealth, were on board Admiral Ruyter's Ship during the whole Expedition. He was a Man of the most groveling Birth, but proud, infolent, and foure, an implacable Enemy to Kings, because that he could not bear their Power and Authority: And fo this little mean Fellow thought to make himself famous by his Enmity with the greatest Men. He hated principally the King of Britain, (and was the basest Flatterer of Gromwell, as long as that Tyrant lived) because he had such Sovereignty over the Dutch at Sea, as he thought fit. He alone was the Author of all the Wars with the English. But at length, after he had governed a long time, he was miferably tore Limb from Limb by the Mob at the Hague. Of which more hereafter.

The same Year died the Earl of Southampton, Lord High-Treasurer, a Man of the noblest dis

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lest Birth, and entire Fidelity to the Royal Family; he was Lord High-Treasurer after the Restauration, which Office he executed honourably, without any Advantage to himself. He took Care that the King should not be in Debt, for he lest the Exchequer, which he sound empty, as sull as it was in his Power to leave it. Upon his Death, that Office was put into Commission; at the Head of which was Asbley Cooper, afterwards created Earl of Shaftsbury, for the Rest were taken up, for the most Part, with other Affairs, so that they entrusted him principally with the Administration.

Some Months after the Death of the Treafurer, the Earl of Clarendon Lord High Chancellour, was banished, having been attacked
by the Earl of Shaftsbury and his Party, the
House of Commons lending an helping Hand,
to whom a Prime Minister is the most elegant
Morsel: But whether it was for any Fault, or
none at all, shall ingenuously be declared in
its proper Place. But whatever it was, so it
happened, that the old Counsellors, at the very
same Time, lost the King's Favour, who in
all Changes manisested the strictest Fidelity to
him.

But that the Course and Order of these Annals may be more clear, I must fix a double Period of Time: One, while the chief Administration of Affairs was in the Earl of Shafts-bury and his Party; during which, while they seemed to give such Advice, as would please, yet they managed Matters so cunningly, that under a Shew of Affection for the King, they much lessened his Reputation and Authority.

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The other, when he was accused of Treason, and removed from the Administration.

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1667.

In the Beginning of the first Interval, the Nation was divided, as it were, into two Parties, who were mortal Enemies to each other. The first consisted of all good Men, who lamented the most heavy Condition of the King and Kingdom, when all publick Affairs were put into the very Hands of their Enemies, as it appeared at least to that Party. The other confifted of those Men, who were more zealous in promoting the Interest of their own Party, than the Wellfare of the Publick. Hence new Commotions arose daily in Parliament against that Sett of Men. For hitherto, for the Space of feven Years, the Parliament had shewed fo great a Regard for the King, that the like had not been known in the Memory of Man. But now they began to look about them, to fear every Thing, diligently to take care of the Wellfare of the Kingdom, and to give Disturbance to the Faction every Hour, that they should not suddenly attempt any Thing against it. For, whereas these Men took their Measures from a double Policy, the one advantagious to the publick Good, the other prejudicial to it, the Parliament ratifyed the former, and disappointed the latter. By the former, a Tripple Alliance was made between England, Sweden, and the United Provinces, against the most Christian King; he was then in the Flower of his Age, a gallant and cunning Prince, capable of universal Empire, a greater than whom France, perhaps, never produced fince the Reign of her Charles the First. Being powerful by Sea and Land, and a Terrour to 1.

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all Europe, he this Year proclaimed War against the Provinces of Flanders, which he claimed as his Wife's Dowry. Care was taken by this Tripple Alliance to oppose the Enterprises of so great a Prince, to which most of the German Princes acceded. The Parliament readily approved this politick Step, and grapted a large Supply for the fitting out the Fleet. The other Project of establishing a good Understanding and Friendship between the King's protestant Subjects, they heard mentioned with the highest Indignation, though his Majesty had recommended it to them in his Speech. Therefore they presently fly unto the King in a Body, and beg that he would order the Laws, which were made against Schismaticks, to be put in Force every where. For fo many Complaints of their fresh Insolence were brought daily to them from every Part of each County, that if they were not fuddenly reftrained, there would be no Peace in the Nation for the future. For when the Factions perceived that their Friends were at the Head of Affairs, they presently threw off (such is the Perverseness of the Men) all Regard to the Laws and the Magiftrates. Nor did they only leize again upon their own Conventicles with Force and Violence, but with unheard of Impudence attacked the Ministers of the Church of England, during divine Service, with Reproaches, Outrages, and Clamour. The King being prevailed upon by the Intreaties and Complaints of both Houses, published a Proclamation, whereby he commanded all the Governours, and Magistrates of every County, Town, and City, and all Officers, as well civil as military, to put

the Laws in Execution with all diligence. The other Party being aftonished at the Constancy of the Parliament despaired of doing their Bufinefs, as long as they continued. Firsty there fore, they confult how to get the Parliament difforved; and then, if they could not do this how they might hinder them in the Dispatch of Business. The first having been attempted in vain, they presently raised Disputes between the two Houses, concerning their Privilege and Prerogatives. A Dispute was formed by Agreement between one Skinner, one of the Earl of Shaftsbury's Creatures, and Sir Samuel Burnardiston, who was one of those that led the Van-guard of the Faction. For this was he who when a very young Citizen, put himfelf at the Head of the Mob, which in the Year 1641, peftered the Parliament daily with crying out, Justice, Justice, against the Earl of Stafford. He implores the Affistance of the House of Lords; and Barnardiston appeals from them to the Commons. The Factions in both Houses enter upon the Affair with great warinth; and a private Caufe, not worth mentioning, being changed into a publick One, gave birth to a new Controverly, whether it was lawful for the House of Lords to act as a Court of Judicature, except in the Cases of Appeals, by Right brought before them. The Lords affert, that fince they are the supreme Court of the Kingdom, they have the Power of judging: If by Right there may be Ap peals to them from other inferiour Courts, why should not their Judgement be lawful without any Appeal at all? On the other Hand, the Commons maintained, that if this Prerogative ot

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of judging was allowed, there would be an End of the common Administration of the Law, upon which alone depends the Liberty of English Subjects: Nor would the Courts in Wessminster-Hall be of any Use or Authority, if by neglecting those and other Courts, it were lawful to refer every Thing to the Lords. In a Word, they were so exasperated against one another, that the Parliament was prorogued from time to time, for a Year together; and afterwards, on the first Day of their Meeting, when the Faction, began to revive their old Difpute, before they entered upon any Business, it was prorogued for half a Year longer; i.e. from March the 8th to October the 19th, and from thence to the 14th of February following 1670, at which Time the Dispute was laid afleep by the King's Exhortation and Intercedion: Although new Seeds of Contention were fown between the two Houses in the next Year, concerning the Amendments made by the Lords to the Books of Rates. For when the Peers had made fome Alterations in the Rates contrary to what the Commons had lettled, they cryed out that it was not lawful for them to do it; nor ought they to meddle with Taxes, otherwise than as they were fixed in their Houle. The Lords, on the other Hand declared, that unless they had a Right to make Alterations, they could have no Power in raising Taxes; and then, they should be confulted to no purpole, for all the Authority in that Affair would devolve upon the other House. So that at last, the Disputes were so hot among the Fanaticks, that the King, having loft a great Subfidy, was obliged to prorogue the Parliament to another Year. In the mean N Time

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Time they who had their Country's Wellfare at Heart, omitted no Opportunity of taking care of her Interest; and allowing no Truce to the Faction, required that the Laws should be put in Execution. On the 17th of 7nh 1669, they waited upon the King to complain of their Infolence, and produced fuch manifest Proofs of their Villany, that his Majesty issued a Proclamation, commanding all their Preachers to depart five Miles from any Town or City, pursuant to the Statute of Oxford. when the Infolence of these Men was publickly talked of in all Places, they were very much incensed, they threatened, and declared that it was not to be born, and that an Enquiry ought to be made after those that encouraged them. For Men would not prefume to commit fuch barefaced Crimes, unless they had some great Men to abet them: They alfured the King that they would ftand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, against all the Enemies of the Kingdom; and declared, that all Men were fuch Enemies, who had rendered ineffectual any Thing that had been ratified by Law in Church and State: And laftly, that they ought to be punished as Rebels. Which Importunity being daily repeated, they extinguished the Fire, as often as it broke out. But in the Beginning of the next Year, (Feb. 14th 1670) being wearied with these Disturbances, they made thundering Work with the Conventicles, by a new Law. For it was enacted, that every one who went to a Conventicle, should be fined five Shillings for the first Oftence, and ten for the second; and that the Preacher should be fined twenty Pounds for the

Journal. Nov. 18. 1669.

the first Offence, and forty for the second : and that the Owner of such Conventicle, or Meeting-house, should pay the same Fine. And if any Magistrate, upon Information given to him, should neglect to put the Law in Execution, he was to be fined an hundred Pounds. This was so great a Wound to the Schismaticks, that being dispirited, they for look their Conventicles, and again retired to private Places under Ground. But, at length, the Parliament being prorogued, the Faction now, without Fear of Punishment, flew into all Manner of Extravagance. But not to mention all their Outrages against their Country; there were feven deadly Sins (as they call them) which they committed almost at the same Time, with equal Treachery and Impudence, against the very Laws of Nature, of Nations, and of the Kingdom.

First, The very Patrimony of the Crown is exposed to Sale.

Secondly, The Tripple Alliance is broken.

Thirdly, Another Alliance is made with the

most Christian King.

Fourthly, A War is begun against the Dutch, at that time our Allies, before any Declaration of War was made.

Fifthly, The Exchequer is made a Place of

Robbery.

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Sixtbly, Every one is allowed a boundless

Liberty of Religion.

Seventbly, By Writs issued at their Pleasure out of the Court of Chancery, Elections of Members are made for the House of Commons,

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contrary to the Custom, which, though not very ancient, had continued many Years.

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First. When the Exchequer was empty, and very much in Debt, the King was very follicitous to extricate himself, without burthening his Subjects; and a Method of Subfidies is found out, by which the King might raise Supplies for himself. For the annual fee-farm Rents, which were paid to the King out of most of his Subjects Estates, were exposed to Sale; by which Means the Crown suffered very much in two Respects: First, because it greatly diminished the King's Power over his Subjects; for by the Payment of those Rents, they acknowledged that they held their Right in Fee from the King: And next, the Inheritance, that should remain to the Crown, was hereby confumed. So that by this, the Kings of Eng. land would hereafter have nothing to support their Dignity, but what depended upon the good Will of their Subjects. Nevertheless an Act passed for that purpose. Nor was it difficult to obtain it; for the Factions voted for it, that they might bring the Dignity of the Crown to an ignominious Beggary: And the King's Friends were for it, that they might, for the present, relieve their beloved Prince, who was under the greatest Necessity. But the Patrimony of the Crown being swallowed up, in the next Place they go to work with its Reputation and Honour. For now the Exchequer is flut up, which was filled with the Subjects Money, especially the Widows and Orphans: For the King being extreamly poor, was perfuaded into a fecond War with the Dutch. not

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Dutch. But when he complained, that he should want Money to defray the Charge of to great a War; Answer was made, that there would be Money enough in the Exchequer, if Payments were stopt but for one Year. The King, whose greatest Fault was being too fond of Ease, and trusting too much to other Men, embraced this Advice, which seemed necessary for the present. By this Method, many thoufand Families live, even to this Day, in the most extream Poverty, as their Posterity must live after them. For as the King borrowed as much Money of the Bankers as he wanted, so all his Subjects, who had Money to put out at Interest, brought it to their Shops; both because the royal Treasury was their Security, and also because their Money would be ready for them, if they had a Mind to apply it to any other Use. So that when the Bankers had taken large Sums of Money, at Interest, from the Subjects, especially (as I may fay) from Widows and Orphans, and the King had taken them from the Bankers; the Money, which was borrowed, and lay in the Exchequer, was applied to other Uses. And this Method of Plundering was the more infamous, because the King had before become a Surety to the Subjects for the Bankers. For when the Dutch, in the Year 1667, furprized the King's Fleet, then laid up at Chotham, in that great Confusion, the Sureties and Creditors throng'd to the Bankers for Payment of their Money. For in the first Fright, it was thought that the whole Island was conquered, and that no Man could be fafe by any other way than by Flight: And therefore very many gathered together all

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they had, to export with them into foreign Countries. That the Bankers might not fink under the great Run that was made upon them. the King issued a Proclamation, whereby he engaged himself, his royal Faith and Dignity for Payment of the Money: He exhorted them to be quiet a little; he told them that the Danger would be quickly over, and hereafter, whatever Mischief should happen, he would not defer the Payments of the Exchequer even for one Day upon any Account. Their Fear therefore being quickly allayed, and they be ing now affured, by Vertue of the Proclamation, that they should be paid their Interest for the Future, every one who had Money to put out, brought it, and deposited it there as a Place of the greatest Security: So that an immense Sum of Money, which was committed to the Faith and Custody of the Exchequer, was privately taken away; by which the King, as well as the Subjects, was imposed upon. For they perfuaded him that the Payments should be deferred only for a Year, and then all should be discharged; for he would soon make himself Master of the Dutch Smyrna Fleet, which was very richly laden, and for which they were in a Readiness; and when this was done, he would be able to pay all his Debts fooner than the Time appointed for Payment. But one Year being past, they put it off for half a Year longer, promiting upon the publick Faith, that it should then be paid. But at length, when the King perceived that he was not able to make Payments, nor to bear the daily Tears and Complaints of his milerable Subjects, he brought that Affair into into Parliament; but the Faction interpof-

ed to prevent the Act from passing,

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When therefore the King desired, that the Chimney-Tax might be engaged by Act of Parliament for ever, in order to satisfy their Demands, (altho' this was curtailing the royal Revenue) yet they sharply debated upon it, and resused it; for they chose rather to weaken the Credit of the Exchequer, than the Exchequer itself. For this was the Wound only of one Age, but the other would be an everlasting Reproach, and not to be worn out till the publick Faith had disengaged its self; nor could it then be healed without leaving a Scar behind.

As to the Violation of the Tripple Alliance; the beginning a War against the Dutch, before they had proclaimed it; and the Alliance with the French King; they urged these Things to his Majesty. That there could be no League between the English and the Dutch, for they were not a lawful Commonwealth, but a Nest of Robbers and Pyrates. That there was an innate Hatred between the People of both Countries. That the Dutch would always be at War with the English by natural Inclination, and for the Sake of Lucre, which chiefly fways Men of fuch fordid Minds. That they were a vain People, emulating the ancient Romans, and dreaming of universal Empire. That they had, for a long Time, laid claim to the Right of Trade and Commerce with the whole World, and that the King of England only could curb That if England were contheir Ambition. quered, they would have the Sovereignity of the Sea without a Rival; and being once Maiters

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sters of the Sea, would easily get the Dominion at Land. And fince the Cafe frood thus Carthage ought to be destroyed without Loss of Time. They further added, that what if fome finall Violation of the Rights of Alliance had been made, by beginning a War be fore it was proclaimed, the Thing was not done against a just Enemy, but against a People that broke all Alliances. That no Faith ought to be kept with perfidious Men: And the Dutch had always been false to God and Man, and being a perjured People could claim no Right to the Law of Nations. And laftly, fince they had no religious Regard to Alliances, none was due to them: And especially not from the English, whom, after so many solemn Leagues, they had always imposed upon by their Perjuries. Let him only remember Amboyna and Surinam; or the League lately made at the Hague, which they had forgot, before the War was scarce cold, and resused to strike their Flag to the King's Ships. He should remember their Exploit at Guiney, when they furprized Admiral Holmes, as he failed by the Coast of Africa; who, when he conquered them in his own Defence, took their Forts, from whence they had fired upon him: And they, in his Absence, hastened to make their Complaints against him to the King of England, alledging that Holmes had acted like a Pyrate, and without any Provocation, had attacked and taken their Fortrefles. He should remember Ruyter's Villany, when the Dutch, having joined their Fleet with the English, besieged the Algerine Pyrates. Ruyter then privately drew out of the Line, by Order of the States,

states, and failed to the Coast of Guiney, where, by his perfidious Piracy, he plundered the English, who did not expect any Hostility. And lastly, if the Right of Alliance may be a little violated, the Violation ought to be committed for the Sake of so great a Reward. For the King would soon take the Smyrna Fleet, who were not apprehensive of a War, and with that one Booty he would clear the Debts of the Exchequer, and defray the Expences of the

ensuing War.

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Laftly, That an Alliance ought to be made with the most Christian King; first, because he was the most powerful Prince in Europe; and next, he was an implacable Enemy to the Dutch: Nay, that it was the common Interest of every King to have that proud Oligarchy deltroyed, which had so much Power in the Midft of Europe. Nor, indeed, was the War to be carried on so much against the Dutch, as against the Faction of the de Wits, who had long declared War against the very Name of Kings; which Faction being subdued, the Prince of Orange, who was the King's Nephew, would again recover the Dignity of his family. That as the Enemy had, for a long time, been unaccustomed to a War at Land, and France would take the Field with an Army confifting of veteran Troops, the Victory would ealthy and quickly be obtained. That the English might be fure of a Victory at Sea, fince they were to engage an Enemy, whom they had allways put to Flight; and besides, there was no Room to doubt it now, fince they were to have the French Fleet as their Auxiliary. The War therefore would be fhort, and very advanAdvantagious; for it might be agreed, that the French King should have all the inland Provinces, and all the maritime Towns should be

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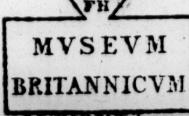
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the Portion of the English.

As all these Counsels were pleasing to the King, and most of them appearing to be just and beneficial, he readily confented to them. But from thence arole the Destruction of h many Men, that all the Nations of Europe have lamented it to this Day. For the French King (as I observed before) was the most powerful of any of them, and almost a Match for them all in Courage and Strength; fo that he alone was to be feared by all the Princes of Europe. Since, therefore, it was the Interest of every one of them, that he should not be too great, they guarded against it by Entering into a grand Alliance. For although that, into which the English, the Swede, and the Dutch had entered into, was called the Tripple League, yet the King of Spain, the Elector of Brandenburgh, a very brave and powerful Prince, and the Emperor of Germany, with almost all the Princes of the Empire, presently came into it: By which manifold Bond, they were a sufficient Curb to France, as long as it continued. But when that was broken, the French King invaded every Place, and attacked those separately, whom he did not dare to attack when they were united. All Europe was presently in a War; and first of all, as it were in an Instant, and with the Expedition of Casar's March, all Holland was over-run, as far as Amsterdam, which occasioned a great Slaughter. There was a bloody Engagement at Sea that Summer, between the English and the Dutch; the



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the Duke of Tork being Admiral of the former, and Ruyter of the latter. The Fight was sharp on both Sides, and the Enemy, despairing of Success, fought with more Fierceness than they had done before: And though they were overcome, put to Flight, and blocked up in their Harbours, yet we paid dear for the Victory. There was a great Slaughter on both Sides: For the Dutch, with almost English Prowefs, coming to a close Engagement, a vast Number of Men were slain at every Broadfide that was given, and as often as the Ships tacked about. Among the English many under Officers, and ten Captains were flain; particularly the Earl of Sandwich, and Digby Son of the Earl of Bristol, who almost alone engaged the Rear Squadron of the Dutch. But at length, when Digby was shot through the Heart with a finall Ball, and his Ship also had received many Shots between Wind and Water, the Sailors, with much Difficulty, brought her into Port. But Sandwich, after he had shattered seven of their light Ships, and beat off three Fire-ships, being at last over-powered with Numbers, fell a Sacrifice for his Country. He was a Man who was adorned with all the Vertues of Alcibiades, but not tainted with any of his Vices: Of noble Blood, capable of any Bufiness; a Man of great Judgement; and one of the greatest Officers both at Sea and Land: Eloquent and learned, affable, liberal, and magnificent. Digby, descended from a Family famous both for Courage and Wit, was as well beloved by Sandwich for the excellent Endowments of his Mind, as if he were his own Son. He was furnished

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furnished with all Manner of Learning, which graced his Birth; a most beautiful young Man, (who had performed many glorious Actions before he had scarce attained to Man's Estate) and knew not what Fear was; patient of Toil and Labour; prodigal of himself, but not rash; and was engaged in Battles, Assaults, Sea-Engagements, and all Manner of warlike Actions, from the Beginning of his Life. And so it happened very unfortunately for his Country, to have a Youth of so much Bravery, and fine Parts, snatched away by such an untimely Death. Thus we see that what is most excellent, has the shortest Continuance!

But the Duke of Tork had better fortune, and his Glory was greater, as well in Respect of the Danger he was in, as the Courage he shewed, In the Beginning of the Engagement, he was furrounded by four Ships, Admiral Ruyter's, Vice-admiral Van-Eff, and two other first Rates, which were fent to support them: And as often as he could get the Advantage of the Wind, he bore down upon them, and engaged them so close, Yardarm and Yardarm, as if they had fought rather with their Cutlaffes, than their Guns. But though the Dutch were at first animated by their being superiour in Number, yet he plyed them so close, that he foon put them into Disorder; but, after three Hours Engagement, the Duke of Tork's admiral Ship being bored through with fo many, and fuch large Shot, and having loft his Mafts, Yards, and Rigging, he was obliged to go on Board Vice-admiral Holmes: In which, with equal Courage, and for some Hours, he engage ed not so much the Enemy's fingle Ships, as their ich

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their whole Fleet; but this also, being difabled by so many playing upon her at one Time, could scarce be towed into Port, having fix Foot Water in the Hold, before the Duke quitted her. From hence he carried the royal Standard on Board a Third, commanded by Spragg, and renewed the Fight with greater Sharpness; but at length, Night drawing on, (and they began to engage at break of Day) he put the Enemy to Flight, and pursuing them, blocked them up in their feveral Harbours for two Days, when a fresh Gale of Wind ipringing up, which turned into a Storm, he lailed back into Port with his victorious Fleet. But this one Engagement did not put an End to the War, for they had feveral next Year; first on the 28th Day of May, then on the 4th of June, and the last on the 20th of August. But the Dutch, being now more wary, their Affairs being changed for the better, engage with their usual Prudence, and use rather Art than Courage: For they do not fight, except it be near their own Shores, Ports, and Sandbanks, and almost within their own Harbours; neither do they engage, but when they are far off from the Enemy, only there was a remarkable Fight between Spragg and Tromp. For having mutually agreed to attack each other, not out of Hatred, but a Thirst of Honour, they engaged with all the Fury, or rather the Pastime of War. They came so close, that, like an Army of Foot, they fought with their Guns and Swords at the same time. often as they tacked about, both their Ships, though not funk, were bored through by their farge Cannon, which were not discharged till

they came within the Reach of small Shot: Nor did one Ball fall into the Sea without doing Execution, for each Ship pierced the other, as if they had fought with Spears. But at length, three or four Ships being difabled, as Spragg was passing in his Barge to another Ship, the Boat was over-turned by a chance Shot, and this great Man, not knowing how to fwim, was drowned, to the great Grief of his generous Enemy, who, after Spragg's Death, despaired of finding an Enemy who was equal to himself. But thus it happened, that as this gallant Man had escaped so many Dangers, his Country being now fafe and victorious, there remained no Honour for him, but the Reward of a glorious Death,—By the Death therefore of this great Man, an End was put to War and Slaughter, by a Peace which was foon after concluded: For the Dutch, being fubdued by so many Defeats at Sea and Land, and their Pride and Anger being abated, offered humble Petitions to the King of Great-Britain, begging for Peace and Mercy, and making use of the Spanish Embassador to interceed and become a Surety for them. For the King, after so many Leagues broken, and vain Promises made by the Faction of the de Wits, would not be tricked again by Dutch Faith, but required some Person to be Guarantee for the Conditions agreed upon: Which being done, the Peace was concluded upon thele Terms.

First, That the Dutch should, for the Future, strike their Colours to the King's Ships.

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Secondly, That they should set at Liberty the Inhabitants of Surinam, whom they had made Prisoners.

Thirdly, That whatever they had taken in both Indies, should be restored to its ancient

Right and Cuftom.

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And lastly, That they should pay eight hundred thousand Crowns, to the King of Great-Britain, for the Charges of the War.

But before the King would ratify these Articles of Peace, he was pleased to lay them before the Parliament, who approving every Thing the King had granted, except one Article of small Moment, that is to say, the Liberty of fishing near the British Coasts, most heartily thanked his Majesty, and applauded what he had done. About the Beginning therefore of the next Month, viz. February the 9th, 1674, a Peace was concluded, which has been religiously kept to this Day. Every Thing in thele Articles was complyed with, which had occasioned the War, especially the Right and Honour of the Flag; which the Dutch, from the Time of Cromwell, had never ingenuously acknowledged to be due to the English, in any League they had made, but couched it under ambiguous Terms. But as this had been the Cause, or rather the Pretence of War, Borrell, the Embassador from the States General to the King of Great-Britain, confulted John de Wits, who was the chief Man in Authority, how he should treat of this Affair. De Wits, on the 22d of September, answered him in these Words. "This pretended Sovereignity of the Sea, was " always ungrateful to the Ears of the Dutch,

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" and rejected with Scorn, as often as it was " proposed; and at those very times when the " Affairs of the Dutch were in a low Condi-" tion, in respect to the English, and when " they were in the greatest Straits, as well " by reason of their Want of Ships, as their " not being able to commence a War, in the "Years 1653 and 1654, when they entered " into a League with Cromwell." In which, after a long Debate, the Dutch did agree to give the Honour of the Flag, not as a Right and Due, but out of Complaifance and Civility: And when the English had, for a long time, infifted that their whole Fleet, as well as every fingle Ship, thould lower their Topfails, and firike their Flag; the Dutch on the other Hand, Arenuously refused to agree to a Peace, except that Claufe, concerning the Submission of the whole Fleet, was omitted.

There was the same Agreement in the Treeties of 1662, and 1667, an which, days he, there was nothing new done, but the English were contented with the bare transcribing the Article, formerly drawn up: " From whence " it is plain, that it is not without a manifelt "Injury, that this Honour is required as a " Right, and a Thing due from the Republick " of Holland, or that the whole Fleet of the " United Provinces, when they meet one or " two English, should submit to lower their " Sails, and ftrike their Flags, in Roint of " Honour to them: And both these Things " were looked upon as intollerable, even in " the most difficult Times of the Republick, " and therefore rejected. How much more " therefore is it intollerable (with Submiffion Vas

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" I speak it) that any such Thing should now " be demanded of us." Thus he spoke. - To the same Effect the States presented a Memorial to the King of Great Britain, by their Embassador, January the 28th, February the 7th, 1712, agreeing fo exactly in Words and Substance with de Wits's Letter, that it is plain he was the Author of both. To these the King answered, that he resented it very much. that Cromwell's Times should be objected to him; and that the Right of the Flag, was a very ancient Right belonging to the Kings of England, and had been paid from the earliest Time within the Memory of Man, not by any League or Compact, much less by any made with That he, the easier to maintain his new-acquired Tyranny at home, agreed to the most dishonourable Conditions of Peace abroad, and facrificed the Rights of Monarchy to his own unjust Possession. That it was enough for a Tyrant, if he had any Civility (as they call it) paid him by Foreigners; but that a King of England would never accept an Honour so precariously given. That if it was not allowed to be a Right absolutely due to him, he would not receive any Thing from Dutch Courtefy; for an Honour arising from such a Title would not last long, but might be withdrawn the very first Opportunity. They should therefore know, that he demanded an absolute Sovereignty of the Sea, not on the British Sea, (as they would have it) but further Norward, as far as Norway. They should remember that their Fathers paid a yearly Tribute to Charles the First, for the Liberty of fishing within the Seas of his Empire and Ju-P rildiction.

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risdiction, in the Years 1635, 1636, 1637, and therefore their Endeavours against it were in vain. Thus the Dutch being overcome, agreed to what Terms he pleased; again acknowledging our ancient Right, and the Confines of our Sovereignty at Sea, to extend as far as Norway. The French King was the only Person that opposed this League: His Embaffador, Ruvigny, by a Memorial which he presented the 25th of January 1674, complaining, that by the Articles of the Alliance with France, it was not just to make a separate Peace. But why did he not confider, that he himself had broke this Alliance before? for the Kings agreed chiefly upon that Condition, that the Peace of Aix la Chapelle, made between France and Spain, in the Year 1662, concerning the Limits of both Kingdoms, should be preserved; and yet the French King made an Irruption into Flanders; and therefore the King of England was not only released from that broken Alliance, but was obliged to maintain Flanders by Force of Arms against the French, as well in his own Defence, as in Defence of his Ally, the Spaniard. Thus the War, which was basely begun by the Factious, was brought to a perfect, happy, and honourable Conclufion, when they were put out from the Management of publick Affairs.

But though the Temple of Janus was shut in our Part of the World, by putting an End to the War with the Dutch, yet the same Rage and Contagion seized all the other Parts of Europe. Which skipping from one Country to another, there was not a Nation, Britain excepted, which did not feel and lament the

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worst Calamities of War, for four Years toge-For as the most Christian King was the more elated by his good Success against the Dutch, being before an enterprizing Man, he prefumed that every Thing must submit to him; the neighbouring Princes, surprized at his fudden Greatness, took up Arms by common Agreement. First, the Emperor of the Romans, the King of Spain, and the United Provinces entered into an Alliance, upon a Condition common to all Alliances; that every Thing should be done by the joint and common Confent of the Confederates. That no one should treat separately for himself. That each of them should obtain the same Conditions of Peace for the Reft, which he had flipulated for himself: And that he should not make a Peace upon any other Terms.

Thus the Dutch agreed with the Spaniard, by the eighth Article, that they should not treat of a Truce separately; nor that the one should enter into a Cessation of Arms without the Consent of the other. By the ninth Article, That one should not treat of a separate Peace from the other, nor without making the same Terms for their Ally, as for themselves. By the 16th Article, That they would not make Peace with the most Christian King, until the Catholick King should be restored to the Possession of all those Places that were taken from him fince the Pyrneaan Treaty, in the Year 1659. By the 18th Article it was specially agreed, That they should deliver into his Hands the City of Maestricht, with its Districts, Sans aucune Reserve (as the French call it) without any Reserve. But the Alliance with the Emperor was not fo ffrict: To whom it was granted (because, at that time, the Turk threatened the Empire,) by the fixth Article, That he should recall his Forces from the confederate Alliance against the most Christian King, if there should be a War with the Turks. The Duke of Lorrain was the first who acceded to this Tripple Alliance, with whom this A. greement was made, by the fixth Article, in these Words: " That if the Matter should " break forth into an open War, their Impe-" rial and Catholick Majesties, and the States-" General, do jointly, and with the common " Confent of all, pledge their Faith to his " ferene Highness the Duke of Lorrain, that " they will not treat of a Peace, or a Truce, " without acquainting him with it; nor till " they have procured, at the same Time, the " requifite and necessary Power, and safe Con-" duct of fending his Embassadors to the Place " appointed for the Treaty. That they shall, " from Time to Time, communicate to his " ferene Highness whatever shall happen in " those Treaties; and that they will not a-" gree to a Peace, or a Cessation of Arms, till they have obtained for him the same " Rights as for themselves: And until all " the Lands, Dominions, Places, Rights, Im-" munities and Prerogatives, which belonged " to his Dukedom, when the French King latt " invaded him, shall be restored to him." Two Years after the Death of the Duke of Lorrain, the same League was voluntarily renewed by the States General, with his Nephew and Successor, Charles, in these Words: " The " States-General to all and every one whom cc it

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Whereas by " it shall concern, send greeting. " a Treaty, made the 1st Day of July, 1673, " between their Imperial and Catholick Maje-" fties, and ourselves, of the one Part; and " his serene Highness the Duke of Lorrain, of " glorious Memory, of the other Part : Be it " known unto all Men, that the aforesaid Agree-" ment did not only relate to the Perfon of " the faid Duke, but also to the Lords his "Succeffors; and, therefore, we renew the " same Alliance with the present Duke on our " Part. Neither will we confent to any Treaty " of Peace, unless his serene Highness be ad-" mitted into it, and reftored to all the Rights, " which his Uncle, of glorious Memory, pol-" fessed. In Testimony whereof we have let " our Seal, &c. the 11th Day of December, " 1675."

Next to the Duke of Lorrain, the Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh came into the Alliance on the 10th and 20th of June, 1674, by the 14th Article. At the same time, by the 20th and 24th Articles, the Duke of Brandenburgh acceded; and by the 18th, 19th, and 20th, the King of Denmark. In the Beginning of the next Year, viz. 26th of January, 1675, the Bishop of Osnaburgh by the 14th Article; and the Bishop of Munster by the 8th. Lastly, the Prince Palatine by the 19th Article, the 25th of November, 1676, though somewhat late; and perhaps he had not come into it, it his Country had not been almost taken and spoiled. For the Palatinate of the Rhine was the hift Theatre of the War: A Province that fuffered more by War, than any other; having ing been laid wafte by the frequent Battles in

the German War of the last Age.

The first Battle between the two most famous Generals, Turenne and the Duke of Lorrain, was fought on the 16th of June, 1674, with the Loss of a great many Men on both Sides, but the Advantage equal: And so the Generals being a Match for each other, marched off with a great Slaughter of their Forces, the Victory being claimed by both, but not obtained by either. Above twenty thousand Men were flain in both Armies in a few Hours; and if Night had not put a Stop to their Fury, perhaps the Battle would have ended in the universal Destruction of both Armies, and not in a Victory; for each General fcorned to quit the Field, except he had the better of the Day.

With the same Rage and Fortune of War, the Princes of Orange, and Conde sought on the 11th of August, near a little Town called Seneff, in Flanders. The Battle was hot and doubtful, and there was no Retreat but in Death; both Armies often giving way, but

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neither drawing off.

First, The French coming suddenly upon them out of a Wood, attacked them in the Rear, put them to Flight, and took their Cannon and their Baggage: But pursuing those who sled to their own Men, they were repulsed with great Slaughter; and to such a precipitate Flight were they put, that, losing their Booty, they could hardly draw up in Order. Hereupon, when they had marshalled their Troops for an equal Engagement, the Battle was renewed. The Action was very hot,

hot, and the Generals were present every where; they encouraged those who behaved themselves gallantly, and reproached those that did not: If any Part of the Army feemed to retreat. they floped it by their Example, fo that there was a bloody Slaughter on both Sides: For they fought with fuch Heat, that being quite tired, and not being able to bear their own Arms, much less the Strokes of the Enemy (if they had any Strength left to ftrike) they cannot be fo properly faid to have founded a Retreat, and to have marched off in Order, as to have voluntarily given over the Battle by the favourable Intervention of the Night. Each Army feemed rather to admire the Obstinacy of the Enemy, than to boaft of their own Victory. The French acknowledged that four thoufand of their Men were flain, and above ten thousand of the Enemy. The Event of the Battle was fuch as might be expected from two Generals, who trufted to their own Courage, but knew not how to yield.

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A third Battle was fought this Year in the fame Province of the Palatinate, between the fame Armies, and under the fame Generals, as the first. And that also was such a Battle as might be expected between two Armies, who rivalled one another; for it had not yet been determined, concerning the Success of the former Battle, to which Side the Victory inclined. Since, therefore, the Event of this Battle was to be, as it were, the Reward of both, they fought with double Obstinacy. They engaged in the Morning, and fought with such Heat till Evening, as might be imagined between two Armies who were enslamed with

Anger,

Anger, Hatred, Revenge, and Thirst of Glory. The Slaughter therefore was fo great, that it did not feem so much to be a Battle as a Carnage. nor did they part from one another, till both Sides being weary with killing, marched off There was no less than to refresh themselves. twenty thousand Men killed in both Armies. which was almost half the Number that were in the Beginning of the Action. Thus the Year was Ipent in these most cruel and almost universal Slaughters; which, however, could never have happened, had not Room and Opportunity for War been given by breaking the Tripple Alliance. For the French King was not fo mad as to have dared alone to proclaim War against all Europe. But when the Alliance was broke, he then began that War against the Dutch, which excited all the People of Europe, from their Habitations far and wide, as far as the Christian World does reach, to defend themselves against him. From whence there proceeded fuch a vaft Deluge of Christian Blood, as perhaps never was before; efpecially if we compare the fhort Time, in which so many Wars were carried on, with the Greatness of the Slaughters.

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But when they had fought so often with equal Strength and Loss of Men on both Sides, and their too much Confidence in themselves, and Contempt of their Enemy being abated, they began to consider of a Peace, through the Persuasion and Intercession of the King of Great-Britain, who also offered to become a Guarantee of the Treaty. They wrangled a great While (as I may say) about a Place for the Congress; but two Years after, they agreed

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greed upon Nimeguen, a City in the Province of Gelderland. In the mean Time, while the Embassadors of the Princes prepared themfelves for their Embassies, (which generally takes up a great deal of time in getting their Equipages ready) the Preparations for War were the greater on both Sides, between Enemies who distrusted one another. The confederate Princes raised five Armies; first the Imperial, under the Command of Count Montecuculi, which was to encamp upon the Rhine in Alface; the fecond under the Duke of Lorrain, upon the Moselle; a third under the Duke of Brandenburgh, against the Swedes; a fourth of the Dutchy of Lunenburgh, and the Bishopricks of Osnaburgh and Mindenburgh; the fifth under the Prince of Orange, in Flanders; to which may be added, the King of Denmark, who was to bring an Army of above fixteen thousand Men, to succour the Duke of Brandenburgh against the Swedes. The most Christian King made equal Preparations to thele; but in the very Beginning of the War, the French Affairs were ruined by two deadly Blows. For when Turenne and Montecu: uli, two Generals equal to each other, had fpent almost all the Summer in watching an Opportunity to get convenient Ground, after innumerable Strategems of War, they encamped within Cannon-shot of each other. Turenne entrenched his Camp, that the Enemy, im gining him to be diffident of his Strength, might more readily, and with less Caution attack him on a fudden. But when he had built two Bridges over the Rhine, which flowed between their Camps, not far from Strasburgh, and hid made made all Things ready for a Battle, fome pretended Deserters told him, that an Ambush was laid not far from the Bridge. He went presently, July 17th, with those who made this Discovery, to a convenient high Ground, to look about him. The Enemy, in the mean time, had planted two Field-pieces, loaden with Carthridge-shot, in a Thicket not far off; which being discharged, as he was looking before him, to many Balls were lodged in his Breaft, that he dropped the very Moment he was wounded. Thus dyed the most famous General of his Time, both for Conduct and Courage; not above fixty four Years old, when for more than thirty Years he had born the Honour of great Mareschal of France, which he discharged with the Glory and Character of the most confummate Commander: A Man of the greatest Skill in military Affairs, and invincible Courage; who never loft a Battle, and never, till his Death, was outwitted by any Craft or Stratagem. But it was Satisfaction enough, that the Scholar (for when he was young he served under Montecuculi, (and was beloved by him for his military Atchieve ments) should be out-done by his Master in that Art, which he had learned from him When the Soldiers received the News of their General, or rather their Father being flain, (for every one that served under him called him Father) they were ftruck with fuch Rage and Grief, that their Officers could scarce restrain them, being full of Tears, and mad for Revenge, from rushing in upon the Enemy. For never was any General more beloved by his Men; those whom he corrected with Dif cipiline,

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cipiline, he obliged by Courtefy: He was fevere, when Necessity required it; never paffionate or cruel; and as affable and familiar among his Soldiers, as was confiltent with the Dignity of a General. In the mean time, the general Officers perceiving that the fermenting Rage of the Army began to subfide, and apprehending that it might fink into Fear and Cowardice, called a Council of War, and resolved to retreat, and pais the Rhine with as much Expedition as pollible. This was done three Days afterwards, by Night; the Count de Lorge, the Mareschal's Nephew, commanding the Retreat, who though he managed it with excellent Conduct and Courage, yet he was so gauled in the Rear by the Enemy, that he scarce brought off half his Army. The next Day after the French had quitted their Camp, the Germans purfued them brilling, and a sharp Battle was fought. It began before Noon, and continued till Sun-fetting, with a great Slaughter on both Sides, and the Battle doubtful. Above fix thouland of the French were killed, and three thousand of the Germans, But the French, patting the Rhine, after the Battle, came with joyful Hearts, but fatigued, to their Quarters in Allace.

Much about the same time another melancholly Express came to the most Christian King, from lower Germany, with News that the Duke of Lorrain, and the Consederates, had obtained a Victory over the Mareschal Grequi: For when the Consederates had, for a long time, besieged the August-City of Triers, Grequi came to relieve it. Lorrain marching suddenly from the opposite Side of the City,

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came up with him about Noon, and made as great Havock of his Army, as was made at the Battle of Canna, or at the Lake Thrafy. mene. Most of the Horse, and all the Foot were flain, and their Artillery and Baggage taken. Crequi, with fix of the Horse, broke through the Midst of the Enemy with great Subtlety and Courage, and flung himself into the City of Triers, Lorrain, having conquered Crequi, whom the great old Man hated most of all, because he had been driven by him out of his Country, did (as I may fay) despise a longer Continuance of Life, and joyfully breathed out his Soul, being full of honest and generous Revenge: For what could happen more pleafing to fuch a brave General, as he was, than to dye victorious? In the mean Time, the Mareschal Crequi had flung himself very opportunely into the besieged City; for the Governour, Count de Vignor was killed some Days before, and the Cannon firing continually, had made several Breaches in the Walls: Nor could any Affiftance be expected; fince Crequi was beaten. Besides, the Enemy attacked them more sharply after the Victory, than before it. Yet Crequi, in these desperate Circumstances almost rebuilds the City: He plants Cannon upon the Walls to keep off the Enemy; wearies them with frequent Sallies; beates them off from the Ramparts, and drives them back to their Camp: He repairs the shattered Walls and Towers, and railes new Fortifications within to strengthen the Places that were most exposed. He did not cease one Day from fighting or working: Sometimes he breaks in upon their ot

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their Camp, and is always fuccessful in his Sallies. At length, the Enemy being weary of fo many Attacks, and the Slaughter they occasioned, made a general Assault upon the City on the 1st Day of September. An Attack was made in four Places, by four Bodies, at the same time; the Besieged were beaten from the Ramperts, being over-powered by the Enemy, and the Confederates having taken the Walls, thought that they should also be Maflers of the City; and therefore made an Alfault upon feveral Places, where the Breaches were wide, but were driven out with great Loss, and presently dislodged from the Ramperts. Neverthelels, three Breaches being made in the Walls, forty Foot wide, every one, except Crequi, despaired of defending the City any longer. Crequi refused, but all the Rest fent Deputies to treat of Articles for furrendering the City. They were allowed, and it was agreed, that they should be conducted under a fafe Guard to Vetray, which was the next French Garrison; and an Oath given that they should not bear Arms in three Months. That the Colonels should march out on Horie-back, armed; but that the other Officers should have only their Swords by their Sides. Crequi alone furrendered himself a Priioner of War, at Discretion: By which Greatnels of Soul he not only recovered the King's Favour, but had more of it than ever. So that afterwards the chief Command of the Army was placed in him, as it had been before in Turenne. But the Rest, who surrendered, were cathiered, and their Leader beheaded. For there is no Law of War more facred, and of greater

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greater Antiquity, than that a Soldier should not do any thing without his General's Command, much less contrary to it; for if this Law were taken away, martial Discipline would entirely cease. Therefore the whole Army should rather have fallen, with their General, in the Ruins of the City, than to have deferted him, though their Circumstances were ever to desperate english of the entry

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By the various Loffes this Year, not only of his own Forces, but of his Confederates alfor the Swedes had bad Success this Summer) the Front King began to be more heartily inclined to Peace. For being a Man of tharp Judgement, and deep Penetration, he forefaw if the War should lie longer upon him, than he had a Mind to have it, that then it might be heavy and grievous to him. Therefore the War was carried on afterwards, with various Success on both Sides, not so much by Battles as by Sieges. It want tank been been saw

Early in the next Spring (April 17th) the City of Conde was unexpectedly believed by the French, the most Christian King directing the Siege. It was taken and plundered in nine Days time, and almost at the very first Attack, though the Garrison consisted of fifteen hundred Men. For when the King received Intelligence, that the Prince of Onange was marching, with all Expedition, and with a great Army to relieve the Town, he carried on Attacks continually in different Places; and by one Asiault, when Part of the Wall was broken down and levelled, he took the Town almost in a Moment, and made the Belieged, Prisoners of War. But though the Prince of Orange

Orange often drew up his Army in Order of Battle, and challenged him to an Engagement; yet the French King, having been taught by the Loffes he had the former Year, not to leave his Camp, to try the Fortune of a War; and from an eager Man being made less prone to fight, could not be moved by any Affronts, and chose rather to proceed by Policy, than

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But when the French King could not be drawn to an Engagement, (wherein the one had not more Advantage than the other) by the Marches and Counter-marches which the Prince of Orange had made; being tired with moving from one Place to another, he fate down before Maestricht, in lower Germany, and belieged it; and at the same Time, the Confederates undertook the Seige of Philipsburgh. in upper Germany. Both Sieges were carried on with the greatest Vigour; and on the other Hand, the Befieged made frequent Sallies; fo that their Obstinacy occasioned great Havock on both Sides. In the mean Time, the Mareschal de Humiers besieged Aire, a City in Artoife; and attacked it with fuch Fury, that, contrary to his Expectation, (though he was a fure Man) he made himself Master of it in a few Days. He was a very great General, and commanded throughout the whole War, where any Thing was to be manfully and diligently put in Execution. He durst encounter all Dangers, and had a Prefence of Mind in every Emergency; he was indefatigable, and a particular Favourite of the Duke of Tork, who fet a great Value upon him for his invincible Courage and Firmness of Soul. Hence, taking

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taking the strong Fort of Lens by the Way, he advanced towards Mareschal Schombergh by long Marches; a Man equal, and if any General in the Army was fo, superiour to him in Courage, Conduct, Expedition, and laftly, in Honour acquired by great Actions, that by joining their Forces, they might raise the Siege of Maestricht; which had been attacked and defended for two Months and an half with unheard-of Resolution on both Sides. The Befieged fallied out continually, and the Befiegers as constantly attacked; and frequent Attacks of all the Forces happened, which occasioned great Slaughter on each Side. The ftrongest Redoubts were often taken by the Enemy, and they were as often driven out of them by the Besieged: But at last, when whatever had been done, which the Rage of War could do, and the Befieged had now no other Hope than from Succours, at that Instant the Mareschals appeared: At which joyful Sight, as the Besieged took fresh Courage, so the Enemy having weakened their Army by fuch a long Siège, called a Council of War, and refolved rather to raife the Siege, than try the Fortune of War.

Thus Matters were carried on in lower Germany; but, in the mean Time, they fought (if possible) with greater Rage and Slaughter in upper Germany. At Philipsburgh every desperate Attempt was made, which is usual in a long Siege. The Confederates at their first Coming, because it was unexpected, took the Fort which lay between the City and the Bridge over the Rhine; by which they had opened a Passage for conveying privately as much Succour

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cour to their Army as they wanted. The Tenure of this City was reckoned to be of fuch Consequence by both Parties, that they prefently marched with all their Forces, the one to cover the Besiegers, and the other to relieve the Belieged. In the mean Time, the Beliegers pitched their Tents sooner than was expected; the City was furrounded with Lines of Circumvallation; Batteries were raised, and eighty Cannon planted; and they fired on both Sides without Intermillion: Sallies were made daily, and the Siege carried on every Day more closely, and the Ditch being filled up, the City was furrounded almost under the very Walls. This News being brought to the Duke of Luxemburgh, he advanced with an Army confifting of above forty thousand Men i But the Duke of Lorrain had posted the imperial Army to conveniently before the City, that Luxemburgh, despairing of relieving it, withdrew, without doing any Thing, or even endeavouring to come to a Battle. In the mean Time, the Befieged were not dispirited, but fallied out upon the Enemy continually: But at last, having thrown up Breast-works, a general Assault was resolved on. But when the Governour of the City (whose Name was Fay) declared, that he would not furrender the City, till it was taken by Asiault, they gave him Notice of it before they began. But having called a Council of War, and finding that all their Powder was almost spent, and so large a Breach made in the Wall, that it could not be maintained any longer; or if it could, that they had not a sufficient Number of Men to do it, their Garrison being reduced to fix R hundred

hundred foot Soldiers; he fent to make Conditions, and they presently agreed to surrender upon these honourable Terms. That the Garrison, except they were relieved in fix Days, should march out with their Arms and Baggage, Colours flying, Trumpets founding, Drums beating, Swords drawn, and with all their Money, whether private or publick; and go to Hagenau, the nearest Garrison they had, under the safe Conduct of a Party of both Armies. Such honourable Conditions did one generous Enemy grant to another; nor could better have been demanded, or granted by the Laws of War, at opening the Siege, than they now obtained when the Hopes of defending the City any longer were loft. And these Conditions were performed with the fame Courtefy as they were agreed on. For the most illustrious Harman, Prince of Baden, a consummate General, and who had the Command of the Army during the Absence of the Duke of Lorrain, came to meet the Governour, as he marched; and, leaping from his Horse, embraced him with the greatest Tokens of Honour, and begged to have the Favour of his Acquaintance for the Future; in Token of which, he defired him to accept his Sword, which was fet with Diamonds. The Governour answered, he could not receive a Present from an Enemy, unless he first had obtained the King his Mafter's Leave. Then the Prince defired, that the Governour would give him his Sword; who answered, that it was neither just nor honest in him to refuse any Thing to one who had conquered him; and bowing very low, gave him his Sword. Now, fays the Prince, though

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though you are unwilling to accept a Prefent from an Enemy without your King's Confent. and make another in Return for it, yet without doubt his Majesty, than whom no Man has a greater Soul, will allow that Friends may exchange their mutual Tokens of Esteem for one another. Upon this he put the Diamond-Sword into his Hand, and the Governour accepting it, was by him difmiffed with great Civility. Nor did the King receive this gallant Man with less Favour; and in Consideration of his Bravery, he conferred upon him the Government of Brifac, another Town in Alface, with a very confiderable annual Salary. These were the Transactions between the French and the Confederates this Year; and the Lives also of as many Men were lost this Year in Sieges, as had been the Year before in Battles. But Death was not yet fatisfied with the Sacrifices of fo many great Men; for the same Time that the Enemies were treating of Peace, they were the more eager in making Preparations for War.

In the Beginning of the next Year, before it was yet the Season to take the Field, the most Christian King, according to his usual Expedition, sat down with his whole Army before Valenciennes, one of the best fortified Cities in Hainault. He came there on the tenth Day of March, opened the Trenches that Night, finished the Works in less than five Days, and immediately the Day following, divided his Army into four Bodies, gave Orders for a general Assault, and when the Signal was given, they scaled the Walls in a Moment on every Side. This was done with such Fury, that,

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almost at the very first Shout, they dislodged the Befieged from their Out-works, and purfued them with fuch Ardour to their inward Fortifications, that they did not allow them any Time to recover themselves. Being driven out of their Works, they retired into the City, and the French pouring in among the Croud, feized the Gate and the Walls, and turning their Cannon upon the City, the Befieged were fo terrified, that, flinging down their Arms, they yielded themselves Prisoners at Difcretion. The King, by his own Command, put a Stop to the Rage of his Men, and faved the City from being plundered. Thus the City was taken, and no other Change made in it, but of its Master. From hence he marched immediately with all his Forces to Cambray, a City of the same Province, and came before it on the 22d Day of the same Month; and making every Thing ready for an Assault, they ftormed the Town with so much Vigour, that they took it on the first of April and the Enemy retired into the Citadel; which, although it was well fortified, he took before the 20th, granting the Enemy very honourable Terms.

At the same Time, St. Omers, a City of Artois, was besieged by his illustrious Brother, the Duke of Orleans. But the Prince of Orange being highly provoked at the Enemies having obtained so many Conquests, marched with all Expedition to relieve his Allies. The French waited for his coming up, and presently after, a dreadful Battle ensued. They sought from ten o'Clock in the Morning till Sunsetting, with great Fury, and the Loss of much Blood

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Blood on both Sides; at least fixteen thousand Men were killed, when the Prince, feeing that his Men were haraffed with their long March, and not able to bear any more Fatigue, ordered a Retreat to be founded. But now all the Avenues, by which any Succour could come, being stopped, the Belieged were more turiously attacked than before, and, two Days after, the Citadel of Cambray had furrendred, the City of St. Omers did also surrender upon the same Terms. Both Armies being fatigued with these frequent Battles and Sieges, retired to their Quarters, and being refreshed, they renewed the Campaign. First, the Prince of Orange closely besieged Charleroy, a Fortress in Flanders, with all his Forces, in the Beginning of the Month of August. But the Duke of Lux. emburgh approaching immediately with an Army of forty thousand Men, before the Prince's Artillery was arrived, the Siege was raifed by the Advice of a Council of War, though the Prince was very unwilling, and would not confent to it for fix Hours.

About the latter End of the Year, (the Beginning of November) Mareschal de Humiers besieged St. Guissain, a Town of Hainault, in lower Germany, with a Bravery natural to his Country and Person, and was Master of it on the 11th Day, by Surrender. Thus all the Wars of this Year were ended, and to the Ad-

vantage of the French.

Their Success was as great the next Year, for the French took the Field before the Swallows appeared. For the Mareschal de Humiers, the King himself being then present, laid Siege to Ghent, a City in Flanders, on the 7th of March;

March; in four Days he took the Town, and the Castle surrendered three Days after. On which Day, the Mateschal de Lorge besieged Ipres, a City thirteen Leagues distant from Ghent, to the West. And though it was defended with great Resolution, yet was taken by Capitulation on the 16th Day of the same Month. On the 2d of May, the Governour of Maestricht, with four hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse, under the Command of Mellac. took the Castle and Town of Leew, which was the Key of Brabant, by Surprize. On the ift of June, a Truce for fix Weeks was made between France and Holland: But in the mean Time the War was carried on with the Spaniard and German. The Duke of Noailles, who commanded in Chief all the French Forces in Catalonia, against the Spaniard, besieged the City Puysard; which Gusman, the Governour, defended with a true Roman Bravery. he would not liften to any Terms of Surrender, till he had been informed by an Officer, whom, by the Permission of the Enemy, he had fent to get Intelligence, that the Succours, which had been fent to him, were marched back. So that despairing of Relief, he surrendered upon honourable Terms on the last Day of

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But the sharpest Battle that was sought this Year, was between those excellent Generals, Crequi and Staremberg, in upper Germany. For when the French and German Armies had lain encamped a long While, within a few Miles of each other; Staremberg, who was the Marcellus of his Age, impatient of Delay, having obtained the Emperor's Leave, advanced nearer with

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with fix thousand Men, being permitted to fight at his own Discretion. He was a Man of great Activity, inured to Battles, and could govern himself, but challenged the Enemy with his handful of Men. Crequi, at first, fent out an equal Number of his Forces, but when these could not fuftain the Enemy's Onfet, all the Army advanced. Staremberg made a Stand for fome Hours, but at last being over-powered with Numbers, he retired to his Camp. And as the warmest Part of the Engagement happened at the Bridge of Rhenfield, (in which Town Staremberg had taken up his Quarters,) to prevent, on one Hand, the Enemy from entering the Town, and on the other, that they might plunder it, when they had made themselves Masters of the Bridge. Great Havock was made on both Sides, many were killed, more were drowned, and after an Hour and an half, the Germans were driven into the Town, and the Enemy entered it at the same Time: But they met with fuch a warm Reception, that they were presently obliged to repass the Bridge; which being broke down by the Germans, the Battle was ended with equal Loss of Men, but the Gallantry of the Action was very unequal. An Action certainly worthy the Greatness of Staremberg, a Man born for the Preservation of Christendom. For if it had not pleased the divine Providence to fend fuch a Man as Staremberg into the World, in our Age, it is to be feared, that the greatest Part of the Christian World would have submitted to the Turkish Yoke. For had the City of Vienna been taken in the Year 1683, before the confederate Armies had joined one another,

(and perhaps no Man in the World could have defended it so long as Staremberg did) an Inroad would have easily been made to all the Provinces of Germany. When I feriously confider the great Fatigues, which he underwent during the whole Time of the Siege, I feem rather to be amazed at a Prodigy, than to reflect upon a Fact; and I make it a Doubt, whether it is a Dream or a Thing that is real. But thus it happens in every Age, that Providence fends fome extraordinary Men into the World to shine with distinguished Glory. Thus Staremberg, though otherwise great in himself, and eminent for his heroick Actions, yet if Heaven had not designed him for that Government, very few of his Friends had escaped Death. But now his Name is immortal, and the Honour he has acquired shall never fade; long may he live to enjoy the inward Satisfaction of all his glorious Actions; and I humbly hope he will accept this small Testimony of my grateful Soul, for the Service he has done in rescuing the Christian World.

Thus went Affairs between the French and the Germans; when, in the mean Time, all Things seemed to have a Prospect of Peace between the French and the Dutch. For the King of Great-Britain, on the 3d Day of June, 1674, all Europe being then in a Flame, having offered his good Offices and Mediatorship for a general Peace, was accepted by common Consent, though neither Party seemed very desirous to put an End to the War. Hence they spun out as much time in Delays, as they possibly could; first, they debated about the Place of Congress, and having spent almost a

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Year in fettling that Point, concluded at last upon Nimeguen, in Gelderland. Afterwards. two Years were taken up in Preparations for the Embasly; in settling Preliminaries, Letters of fafe Conduct, the Titles of Embassadors, the Ceremonies of the Congress, and the like. Nor did they begin to treat of Peace in good earnest till the 15th Day of March, 1677, at which Time, the French King, who hitherto had protracted Affairs, as much as he could (for he was a Man no less expert in managing a Treaty, than in carrying on a War, which are two very great Qualifications in a King and a Soldier) began to treat separately with the Dutch. Among other Terms of Peace, which he proposed to them, by his Embassadors, he agreed to deliver up to them the City of Maestricht, with all its Dependencies. in the mean Time, he went on with his Sieges.

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When the King of Great-Britain saw that he and his Mediatorship were thus trisled with, and that the Provinces of Flanders, which were nearest to his own Dominions, would soon fall into the Hands of the French; at the earnest Persuasion of the Parliament (but with what Sincerity, shall be shewn in its proper Place hereafter,) he entered into an Alliance with the Dutch, in the Beginning of the next Year.

When the French King was informed of this, he sent immediately to the Congress, of his own accord, on the 15th of the next Month, the Terms upon which, and no other, he would make Peace. Among these he first stripulates to have the same Conditions for his Allies, as for himself; for the Swede, and the Duke of Holsein Gottorp, that all the Places taken

from them in the War, should be restored; for the Bishop of Strasburgh, the Rights of his Bishoprick; and for his Brother, the Prince of Furstenbergh, his Liberty. Lastly, that certain Places should be restored to the King of Spain; but all the Province of Burgundy, Valenciennes, Conde, Cambray, St. Omers, Ipres, Aire, and other smaller Towns, should be his own.

But when these high Demands were made to no Purpole, (for the Mediators would not propose them to the Confederates) and great Preparations for a War by Sea and Land were carried on in England and Holland; the most Christian King endeavoured to draw the Dutch into a separate Peace, by Letters which he sent from his Camp near Deifne, dated May 18th. For he perceived by the many Instructions they had given, not only by the Complaints which they had made a little before to Spain and England, that they were not able to support a longer War; but also by Beverning, their Embaffador, who privately declared to the French Embassadors, that the States General would accept the Conditions of Peace which had been offered, provided, that if the Spainard would not come into them, they should run no hazard from the Conquest of Flanders. He promised to receive them into his former Friendship, provided they would ftand neuter; and that whatever fhould happen, he would defift from carrying on the War in the United Provin-They embraced the King's Mercy by Letters, which humbly teftified their greatest Thanks, and also fent Beverning to obtain farther Favour from the King. The King told him,

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him, that he was glad they had manifested so ftrong an Inclination to Peace, which, as it would be a great Benefit to Christendom, fo it gave him the highest Pleasure. That he defired nothing more than to prevent the Effufion of Christian Blood; and greatly rejoyced to find that they were as piously inclined: And, therefore, he would agree to a Truce for fix Weeks, in which Time they might try to bring in their Allies. But if they obstructed the Peace of Europe, he then required of the Dutch, that from that Time they should have no Hand The Dutch declared to their Allies in the War. what Measures they would take, and that if they would not come into the same Terms of Peace, they would treat feparately for themselves. Each of the Confederates, by their Memorials, which they presented on the 10th Day of June, reproached them with their Perfidy. His imperial Majesties Embassadors were the first who opposed it; and the same was rejected with Bitterness enough by the other Ministers of the Allies. But the Dutch were obstinate; for their Affairs would not admit a Delay, and therefore they must immediately either make Peace conjunctively, or they would make one feparately. There was another Conterence on the 20th Day of the same Month, in which the Allies made the bitterest Complaints; more particularly the Duke of Lorrain's Embassador, who by his Master's Order, and in his Name, peremptorily refused, with the greatest Contempt, to treat upon such icandalous Terms of Peace, as were offered to his serene Highness; and, at the same Time, defired the Allies to remember the Promise, which

which they had religiously engaged to execute But, says he, if there be no Faith in Man, (and none there can be if he is deferted by his Allies after Entering into fo many Leagues.) a voluntary Banishment seemed to him far more honourable, than a servile Dominion, But the States, nothing at all touched with the Scorn and Reproaches of the Allies, ordered their Embassadors two Days afterwards to sign the Peace. The Dutch and the French having agreed to a Peace, (as it was thought) and consequently the Face of Affairs in England being changed, and the Parliament requiring the King instantly to disband the Army; on a fudden, when they came to fign the Peace, the French King, having been casually asked, at what Time he would evacuate the Places which had been taken from the Spaniard, anfwered, not until all the Provinces of Pomera. nia, and every other Place, which had been taken from the Swedes, should be restored to them. By this new and unexpected Condition all Things were again brought to a Rupture; the Allies were in pain about disbanding the English Army, for if that should be done, it was plain that the Affairs of Flanders would be in a desperate Condition: But if that could be deferred for some Time longer, than it would be in every one's Power to have his Demands ratified by a Peace. The Army happening not to be disbanded, through the Firmness of the King, contrary to the Expectation of France, the Allies thereupon took Heart again; and the very Dutch threw themselves into the King of Great-Britain's Bosom, as their Sanctuary and Defence: And cancelling all the Agree-

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Agreements they had made with the French, entered into a new Alliance with the English, viz. That except the King of France would accept, before the eleventh Day of August, such Terms of Peace as had been offered, and evacuate all the Places he had taken, they would that very Day declare a confederate War against him; and would not desist till they had, by Force of Arms, compelled him to make a just and fair Peace. France pauses, invents Means for Delay, and pretends to offer I know not what Expedients, in order to gain time; but when he saw that he could avail nothing by this, he confented that the Swedish Embassador should entreat him to prefer the Peace of Europe before the Interest of their Country. Not that they were ignorant of what would be advantagious to them, but because they knew, that the Dutch having broke off from the Confederacy, and the English being deserted by them, the French King might afterwards exact fuch Terms of Peace from the Rest of the Confederates, as he pleased. They found this to be true, when he commanded, that all the Places which had been taken by the Dane and the Elector of Brandenburgh, should be restored to the Swede. Thus, at length, late at Night, on the 11th Day, the Peace, which had been separately negotiated, was figned between the French and the Dutch. The Allies were aftonished; the whole Proceeding occasioned great Warmth; they all made bitter Remonstrances; and principally the English Mediators, who not only refused to fign the Instrument of Peace, but ordered their Names to be struck out of it: For they

were fent by the King, their Master, to procure a general Peace for Europe, and not a separate one for the Dutch. Not long after, that is to fay, on the 25th Day of August. Lawrence Hyde was fent Embassador Extraordinary and Plenepotentiary to complain to the States, that they had twice implored Succour from the King his Master, when they had engaged their Faith that they would not accept a Peace, which he should not approve; when he declared, that he would not confirm any Peace, except the same was also made with the Spaniard; yet breaking their Faith to him, and the Allies, they did it privately, by Stealth, at Midnight: Neither did they require any Security for delivering to the Spaniard, the Places, which had been taken from him; but on the contrary, had gratified the French King with new Terms by giving him Beaumont. That by these Proceedings, the League which they had last made with the English, whereby they were both obliged to carry on the War against France, was basely broken. If they refused, he would presently proclaim it himself, and therefore would transport all his Forces with as much Expedition as possible, into Flanders. To this the Dutch answered, that they gave the King hearty Thanks for his great Kindness to them: That they would take upon them to make Peace between the French and the Spaniard, upon fuch Terms as he should like. If the French should refuse, that it would be in their Power to maintain the Alliance made with the King of Great-Britain against him, and that they would

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would proclaim War on the very Day appoint-

Thus this whole Affair, which had been confirmed by so many solemn Leagues, was made a Jest; for the Dutch having made a Peace for themselves, the Spaniard could refuse no Terms, not being able at that Time to carry on the War: Nor indeed, as the Case then stood, could he so properly be said to treat for himself, as to accept such Terms as the Dutch prescribed for him; so that it was not so much a Treaty, as a Submission to a Peace.

Thus the League, on the 17th Day of September, was ratified, (fuch as it was) by the Procuration of the Dutch, for the English Mediators had renounced that Office.

The Allies having therefore thus begun a Separation, the Confederates fell off, one after another, each for the Preservation of his own Dominions, and accepted the best Terms of

Peace, which they could obtain.

But it so happened, and indeed most unfortunately, that on the very Day the Articles of Peace were figned and exchanged between the Dutch and the French, the sharpest Battle of all was fought by them, who knew nothing of the Conclusion of the Peace. The Duke of Luxemburgh had for a long time carried on a close Siege against Mons, a City in Hainault; and the Besieged sent Word to the Prince of Orange, that being driven to the last Extreamity, they must be obliged to surrender upon the hardest Terms, except he came presently to their Relief. The Prince, without Delay, was up with them in a Moment; and having encamped

Nature, suddenly attacked the Enemy with the greatest Fury. The Battle began a little after Noon, and lasted till Night. Never did Men fight with greater Spirit; and every one killed his Man, with whom he encountred, or was killed by him; and they that fell, died upon the Spot: And above twelve thousand Men were slain, without turning their Backs, or any

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Advantage appearing on either Side.

But the greatest Havock by far, was made in that Wing, which was composed of Britons, For the Earl of Offery, eldest Son of the most illustrious Duke of Ormond, and most like his Father in martial Prowess, as well as in other Things, had the Command of fix thousand English and Scotch, which he divided into fix Batallions. He posted himself where the most Danger was to be expected from the Enemy; and though he attacked them with the greateft Spirit, and was encountered with equal Courage and Resolution, yet at last he drove them, Step by Step, from their Ground, tho' naturally well fortified. He shewed his Men an Example by marching at the Head of them; was the first that began the Attack, and was one of the first that mounted the Entrenchments of their Camp. If any of his Men gave Ground, he rode up to them, and encouraged them to fight, by his own Example. As he fought against the Flower of the French Army, against the King's Life Guards, against His and the Dolphin's own Regiments, and, indeed, against the royal Marines, which were reckoned the best Regiment the King had, it must necessarily follow that the Engagement was very 19

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very Bloody. Most of the Soldiers were killed: few Officers escaped; thirty of our Side lay Deed upon the Spot, and as many were wounded. The Enemy would not acknowledge how many they loft, though they confessed that the Slaughter was very great on their Side. every Attack this brave General fignalized himself by his Intrepidity, as if he designed either to conquer or to dye: Nor was he more ambitious of Victory than Danger, for where there was an Enterprize of Moment, he claimed that Post as his own. He would have the first and greatest Share in every Action; and was as gallant a Commander by Sea as he was by Land. During the first Dutch War, he was a Voluntier in every Engagement, and behaved himself with such Courage and Activity, that the King foon honoured him with a Flag: And he was the greatest Terror to the Enemy. For when he made an Attack, he bore down upon the Center of the Enemy, and broke their Line; and he engaged them so close, that being in Confusion they were obliged to sheer off. He either took or lunk whatever Ship he attacked, and, it it was in his Power, he would choice to engage an Admiral: And though he was always the first that returned into Port, yet he never left the Fleet, till his Ship was shattered, and himself a Conqueror: With which Greatness of Soul, he made himself Master of his Friends, as well as his Enemies, and was fo well beloved by the Sailors, that they adored him as a God of their Element. For as his Courage was great, to likewise his Liberality; and he distributed among them great Sums out of his own Pay:

If any Man behaved himself gallantly, he rewarded him out of his own Purse. His Hospitality made him popular; for he always kept, at his own Expence, an open Table, well furnished with the best of every Thing. He exceeded Titus in Humanity; and was as free in Conversation among his Soldiers, as if they had been his Companions; familiar, gentle, courteous; a Friend to Merit, not tinctured with Pride, which is often a Blot to our Nobility. As he was adorned with these Excellencies, no General was ever more beloved by the Soldiery, nor did any Soldiers place greater Confidence in, or behave with more Gallantry under any other General. Thus the Event of War depends chiefly upon the Example of the General; for when he dares to attempt any Thing, they are ashamed not to follow their Leader. But this great Man, who had escaped so many Dangers, was suddenly cut off by a malignant Fever, in the Flower of his Age; to the great Grief of his Country, but to her much greater Loss.

Thus, by this bloody Battle, an End was put to this almost ten Years War; and the Peace sealed by the Death of so many thousand Men; as if Mars, finding that the Peace was begun, apprehended that there was almost an End to his Empire, and therefore resolved to secure to himself the Slaughter of this Day. At the same Time two Conspiracies broke out; one of Count Tekeli in Hungary, the other of Oats in England: But, perhaps, of these hereafter. But let us return to the other Wars in Europe, to which the Violation of the Tripple

Alliance gave Birth,

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Though the Southern Parts of Europe Suffered much by fo many Battles, yet the War in the North was much sharper; where the first Tryal (about the Beginning of July, 1675,) was between the Swede and the Elector of Brandenburgh, for the Province of Pomerania. In the first Battle a great Victory was obtained over the Swedes, their Cannon taken, and above four thousand Men killed, the Enemy not lofing scarce half that Number. The Conqueror purfued the Conquered for five Days, and drove him almost out of the Confines of Pomerania. This was the first Turn of Fortune. For the Swede, being highly incenfed at the Violation of the Tripple Alliance, entered into a Confederacy with the French King; therefore, as the one carried on the War in the South, so did the other in the North, but not with equal Success. For the Elector of Brand. enburgh having made himself Master of Pomerania, and the Dane of Schonen, the whole Dominion of Sweden had been loft, if the King of France had not put a Stop to the Conquerors. The Dane and Brandenburgh joined their Forces, both eminent Generals, and each of them commanded his own Troops; Men of equal Bravery and Conduct in War. They made fuch Inroads into the Swedish Territories from different Sides, that, before the End of the War, they had almost shaked Hands in the very Bowels of the Kingdom. On the 10th of November, Wolgast, a fortified City in hither Pomerania, and under the Jurildiction of the Swedes, was jurrendered to the Elector of Brandenburgh, after it had been besieged ten Days: At which Time the Dane besieged Wismar, the strongest fortified

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Town in the Dutchy of Mecklenburgh. And when, according to the usual Methods of Sieges, he had carried on his Approaches so near the City, that he could Assault it with all his Army, he successfully stormed the Town with invincible Courage. For the King heading his Troops in the Depth of Winter, in the Midst of Frost and Snow, when the Ditches were foll of Water, and in a dark Night, attacked their Fortifications with such Fierceness, that, in the Space of two Hours, they beat off the Besieged, and making themselves Master of one of their largest Forts, they desired to surrender upon Conditions, which being granted, the King took Possession of the City next Day.

1676.

At the End of the next Year, a sharp and bloody Battle was fought near Lunden, a City in Schonen. For it is the Custom in the North to take the Field in the Winter, if the Rivers and Arms of the Sea be frozen fo hard, as to bear an Army to march over them. The Dane had, for some Months, laid close Siege to Malmoe, another City in Schonen, formerly in the Dominions of the Dane, till it was taken by Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, in the Year 1658. The Swede marched with an Army of twenty thousand Men to raise the Siege. At Break of Day he reached the Enemy's Camp, and attacked their left Wing: They fought sharply for some Time, but, at length, the Danes were routed; their Horse fled, most of their Foot were killed, and their Cannon taken. In the mean Time, the King heading the right Wing of the Danish Army, with his Brother Prince George, attacked the Enemy's left ð

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left Wing; and they fought with the utmost Refolution. The Victory feemed to be doubtful for fome Hours; but the Swedes at last, not being able to bear the Onfet, were forced to fly; and the Danes took not only the Enemy's Cannon, but retook their own alfo. They remained Masters of the Field, and their left Wing had an Opportunity of rallying. Upon this the Battle was renewed with greater Sharpness, and it did not end till Night: So that they retired with equal Slaughter on both Sides, the Swedes having retaken their Cannon before Sun-fet. The King of Denmark, during the whole Battle, discharged the Duty not only of a most active General, but even of a private Soldier. He attacked the Enemy eleven Times at the Head of his own Regiment; and his Brother Prince George, being too eager, rushed into the thickest of their Ranks, and being furrounded, brought himfelf off with much Difficulty. If any Advantage was gained by this bloody Battle, the Swedes feemed to have it, because they raised the Siege; otherwise, ten thousand Men were flain to very little Purpose: However, they tryed the Fortune of War next Summer. In July, the left Wing of July 23. the Danish Army being again routed, the King 1677. himself commanding the Right, gave a Turn to the Battle. Thus Things were carried on at Land; but the Danes had better Success at Sea. For about the Beginning of the same Month, their Fleets engaged, the Swedes had thirty six Ships, and the Danes twenty four. They strove a great While to get to Windward of each other, but when the Lane could not do this, he bore down upon the Enemy,

and broke through their Center; Juell being then Admiral, a Man of great Courage and Experience in Sea Affairs. Nor did he only break through their Line, but got to Wind. ward of them also. And though the Enemy was vastly Superior in Number, yet he fought with such Courage and Conduct, that having deftroyed one and twenty Ships, and the Reft running away, he returned into Port with Victory, and laden with naval Spoils. About the same Time, the Elector of Brandenburgh befieged Stetin, the Metropolis of Pomerania; a City, which in its Defence, exceeded Grequi, and almost Saguntum, in Resolution. He opened the Trenches on the seventh of July, and because it was well fortified, attacked it with uncommon Fierceness, but the Besieged beat him back with much greater. They fallyed out every Day, presently destroyed their Works, fet fire to their Fortifications, and filled up the Trenches of their Camp. They did as much as could be expected for Men to do, having taken an Oath, that they would fooner dye, than Surrender upon any Terms. They made a great many Fortifications within, for the better Defence of the City, if their Out-works should be taken: And the Ruins were piled up so high, that every House was a Citadel. Thus by these Means they obliged the Enemy to besiege many Cities in one; who, on the other Hand, raised Batteries round about, upon which they planted upwards of seventy Mortars, and bombarded the City Night and Day. It was fired in many Places, and being foon reduced to Ashes was buried in its own Ruins. The Towns-Men were more resolute

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resolute than the Soldiers, and they immediately stabbed every one who mentioned a Surrender; and they compelled the Governour to fwear, that he would not offer or accept any Terms. It is reported, that when a Servant brought Word to one of the Towns-Men, who flood Centinel upon the Walls, that his Wife and Children were killed by a Bomb, he ordered him to take care that they should have a decent Burial; for he would not quit his Post, but could sooner dye for his Country than receive the News of their Death. At laft, when the Elector of Brandenburgh understood that no Succours were fent privately to the Besieged, and the Deserters telling him that the City was buried in its own Ruins, he commiserated their Condition, and voluntarily offered them honourable Terms of Surrender; but if they would not accept them, he then threatened to put them to the Sword. They thanked the Elector for his great Kindness, and begged that he would not make any Mention of Surrender, for they had bound themselves by an Oath to the contrary; and when they should be driven to the last Extremity, they would not despair of Mercy from such a generous Conqueror. When therefore their Gates were broke down, they filled up the Breach; and when their Walls were blown up, fixty Foot in Length, by the Enemies Mines, they were attacked in the Breach. The Towns-Men made it good by exposing their own BODIES, and with unexpected Refiftance, they drove the Enemy back upon the Ruins, and purfued them, trembling and affrighted as they fled, to their own Camp.

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They proceeded to fill up feveral Times the Breaches, which they raifed so high, that they ferved for Breaft works. The Enemy, being quite spent with so many Attacks and Assaults. defired the Dane to fend them some Succours privately, and when they were arrived, the Elector of Brandenburgh prepared all Things for a general Storm; yet he forbore, purely in Compassion to such brave Men. He therefore threatened again to put them all to the Sword, unless they would furrender; having offered them honourable Terms. They would not comply for a long While; but finding that their Powder was almost spent, and consequent. ly that they could hold out but a little While, they sent Deputies to treat of a Surrender. The Elector, who was a Prince of the most generous Spirit, granted them more than they defired. He not only confirmed to them the Privileges they enjoyed under the Swede, to whom they fell by Right of War, but most indulgently renewed the old Ones, which they had enjoyed under their own Princes, the Dukes of Pomerania. He gave them Liberty to fish for ten Years, without laying any Tax upon them; nor did he demand any Thing from them, but that they should rebuild their Churches; and he promised to rebuild their Cathedral at his own Expence. To gain a Conquest over their Minds, as well as their Bodies, was a Victory worthy of so great General. He highly esteemed the Magnanimity of those Men, and wished that all his Subjects were as brave, not doubting but that they would manifect an invincible Fidelity to him. There were three thousand Soldiers, besides a vast Number of Citize us,

Citizens, when the Siege began; but two hundred only marched out, after the City had furrendered, two thousand three hundred being killed, and the Rest not able to march by reason of their Wounds: But how many Towns-Men lost their Lives, as they principally desended the City, must be computed from the Number of the Soldiers that were slain. They destroyed above half the Enemy's Army, who owned indeed that they lost twelve thousand Men. This is the greatest Slaughter that ever appeared upon Record, but such as might be expected between Enemies, who fought with a Resolution on both Sides either to conquer,

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Next Year the War was various and changeable: Early in the Spring (January 15th 1678, Count Coning mark, Commander in Chief of the Swedish Army, made a Descent upon the Isle of Rugen, which was Part of the Danish Dominions. This was done in the Night, and he landed two thousand Horse, and three thoufand Foot, without any Opposition from the Enemy, who had no Thoughts of the War being brought thither; and having pitched his Tents, challenged the Danes to Battle, when they could scarce believe, that there was an Every upon the Island. When they came to an Engagement, it happened, that Rumer, the Danish General, was shot, as he rode along the Line and fell in Sight of both Armies. struck the Danes with Terrour, and put them into Diforder; but animated the Swedes, and made them look chearful. But it proved fatal to the Danish Interest; for the Army being composed of different Nations, the Generals quar-

quarrelled among themselves for the chief Command; and when the Swedes perceived this. they pressed hard upon them, and beat them out of their Ranks; and being aftonished, and in a Disorder, they broke in upon them, and put them to flight. The Danes who were seven thousand in Number, lost all their Baggage and Cannon; and being thut up in an Island, all of them were either taken or flain, except a few Officers, who getting into some Boats, committed themselves to the Waves. great and unexpected Favour of Fortune put fuch Courage into the Swedes, that they immediatly, with all their Forces, befieged Chriflianstad, a strong Town in Bleking, a Province under the Jurisdiction of the Danes, and well fortified round about; which furrendered at last, after a long Siege, and when every Thing was ready for a Storm. But this was the End of the good Fortune of the Swedes, almost as soon as it began: For in the next Month the Dane and Brandenburgher, made a sudden Descent, in feveral Places, upon the Isle of Rugen. The Swedes being terrified at the Numbers of the Enemy, fled to the Sea shore, and passed over in Boats and Barges, to Stralfund in Pomerania. A great many were drowned; above a thoufand Men, and three thousand Horses were The Elector of Brandenburgh purfued them presently to Stralfund, which he befieged; and took it by Surrender a Month after, though Coningsmark, exerted himself to the last, with the Resolution of Crequi. From thence he marched to Gripswald, which he be-fieged, and took by Surrender. Thus he made himfelt

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himself Master of all Pomerania, for this City was the last that fell into his Hands.

The next Year he invaded Pruffia, and routed the Swedes in three Battles, and having deftroyed almost all their Army, drove them out of the Confines of the Province, making great Havock among those that fled. The Swedish Affairs being now almost in a desperate Condition, the King of France rose up again, declaring, that he would have no regard to the Peace made with the Princes of Europe, except the King of Sweden was also admitted into the Articles of that Peace. He therefore demands, that the Elector of Brandenbugh shall restore to the Swede all the Cities, which he had taken in Pomerania, as he himself had restored, to the Spaniard, all those which he took in Flanders. The Elector opposed this; the French King infifted upon it; and except he prefently complyed, faid, that he would invade his Dominions. In the mean Time, till there could be a proper Opportunity for a Treaty of Peace, a Truce, at his own Intercellion, was made for fix Months. His electoral Highness prolonged the Time; but the Truce being expired, he invaded the Marcomanni, a People of Germany, under the Dominion of Branden. Upon this the Elector, having been deferted by his Allies, and not being a Match for the Enemy by himself, willingly accepted the Terms of Peace that were offered, striving only to keep the City of Stetin, which cost him so dear, as a Reward of all his Toil. The French King would abate nothing; every Place must be restored, nor would he permit him to keep an Hand's Breadth of what he had taken.

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Thus, this great and gallant Prince, compelled by Necellity to comply, had nothing but his

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Labour for his Pains.

The Dane now remained to carry on the War alone; and though he entered into a Treaty of Peace with the Smedes at the fame Time, yet the Conference came to nothing. For the French King ordered his Army to march out of Westphalia into Oldenburgh, a Country under the Jurisdiction of the Dane, and to lay all wafte, except he would give over the War: By which he may be more properly faid to command, than to make a Peace, Thus the Danish King, who had a great Soul, being under the same Constraint with the Elector of Brandenburgh, made Peace; but with as great Indignation and Unwillingness as Surrenders are made. But these brave and gallant Princes, who, by their own Valour, were become Lords of all the North, inveighed afterwards more sharply against their Allies, than against the Enemy, and published Memorials, in which they upbraided them with Treachery, and Breach of the Oaths they had made. But the Confederates clapt up a Peace, not only without the Consent, but even against the repeated Protestations of their Allies. For the Elector of Brandenburgh protested by his Embassadors, whom he sent to the Diet of Ratisbon, by the facred Ties of Religion, by the Laws of Nations, of War, of Alliance, of the For it was not lawful by the Oath of Alliance, and the Diet might repeal whatever Agreement had been made; that he would bring an Army of twenty eight thousand Men into Germany, in Defence of the Jurisdiction of the e,

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the Empire: That it was base to accept such mean and unreasonable Conditions from an Enemy now weary of War, and almost conquered. The Diet deferred their Affent for a long Time; but they also were obliged at last to fubmit to the arbitrary Power of Necessity. The fame Prince, being inraged against the Dutch, sent a Letter to the States to this Purpose: That while he beheld the calamitous Destruction that was made in that Part of his Dominions, which is fituated in the Circle of Weffphalia, he did not so much blame the Enemy, who carried on the War there, as he did deteft his Allies, who forfook him, and on whofe Account all thefe Things had happened to him: Who, when they knew the great Diftress he was in, did not only keep back the Succours which they ought to have fent, but made a Peace, and manifeltly betrayed him, who was a Confederate of the War, and left him to the Mercy of the Enemy. Thus all the Weight of the War fell upon him, who would have had no Share in it, if he had not commiserated their wretched Condition, and come to their Relief when they were perishing. He admired their ill Conduct, in beholding his Ruin without any Concern, and appearing rather to rejoyce at it, as if this was a Recompence for all the Pains he took, and the Kindness he to ill bestowed upon them, tho' he had, with great Labour, Danger, and Expence, faved them from present Destruction: That it would make him fick to complain of all his Sufferings, purely to preferve them from being ruined. For with what Defolation, even in the Sight of their Forces, were the Dukedom of

Cleve, and the Provinces of Westphalia, the Ci. ties of Ravenspurgh and Minden, laid waste. while he himself was engaged in far distant Wars in the North. That he had often complained of these Things by his Embassadors. by Letters; if he could not have any Succour from them, yet they might be his Friends and comfort him in his Affliction. That they, on the other Hand, as if they were grown more haughty and arrogant, either by their own Subtlety, or by the Diftress of their Ally, nay, truly their Deliverer, had refused him the Honour of an Answer. But if mercenary Men did not know what Gratitude required, yet they could calculate Profit to a nicety. They would therefore do well to confider with themfelves, whether it was reasonable that he should bear all the Expences of the War, in which he had involved himself upon no other Account than to preserve them from utter Deftruction. Do they not think it sufficient, that he has been stript of his Territories by their Perfidiousness, but as his Treasury is exhausted, must he live hereaster in extream Poverty? But that they might know he was not able to bear fuch Indignities, his just Resentment had forced these Letters from him against his Will; and that he should always remember their Wiles and Subtleties. That he should demand from them the Rights and facred Ties of that Alliance, which they had impioufly violated: And if they did not fubmiffively and honourably make him ample Satisfaction, he would referve to himself, and his Posterity, the Revenge of fo great a Piece of Villany. In the mean Time, he befought Almighty God to defend them

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them hence-forward from the miserable Hard-ships of War, and from hostile Invasions; least they should learn, when it is too late, how imprudent and foolish it is to deceive their saithful Allies to whom they owe their Preservation.

To this the States returned, the following poor and fullome Answer; That with Minds full of Gratitude they called to Rememberance the great Favours they had received from his Electoral Highness; that they laid to Heart his present Case, as much as if it were their own: But they begged he would excuse them for making Peace upon such Terms as they had obtained, to which they were compelled by Necessity; that the War was a Burthen too great for them, and that the People could not bear the Charge of it: Lastly, that if they had not accepted the Peace, other Countries would have run away with the Profits of their Trade. Therefore they asked Forgiveness, and promised, that, for the Future, they would do their Duty to him, as good and faithful Friends. To these Excuses, Answer was made; Is this Dutch Faith, to make Necessity a Plea for trampling upon all Laws human and divine! it lo, what Force have Oaths? what Effect have the facred Ties of Religion? Why is divine Vengeance invoked, if these Things cease to bind us, let the State and Condition of our Affairs be ever to hard? Why is the facred Bond of Religion joined to that of human Faith, but that no Room may be left to make an Excuse for Treachery upon any Colour or Pretence whatever? If the Obligation of an Oath is to be rendered void, as often

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often as Necessity may be an Excuse for it. then truly all Oaths are of no more Validity, than Lovers Promises are faid to be. But what is this mighty Necessity which they mention. that all Things facred must give Place to it? They were overwhelmed, forfooth, with the Straits and Difficulties of War. As if War was any Thing elle than the Pressures and Infelicities of Dangers, Toils, and Taxes. Did not all the Allies labour under the same Necellity, upon no other Account than for having affifted them? And if they had not determined with themselves to undergo the worst that could happen, there would not have been any Occasion for them to have entered into a War. But if any of the Allies have made Necessity an Excuse, it then fell the heavier upon the Rest; for as the Number of the Allies is leffened, the Weight of every other is thereby encreased.

Thus, when all the Rest withdrew them felves privately, all the Danger of the War, which they could neither bear nor avoid, fell upon this one Prince, and the King of Denmark; purely because they had kept their Faith inviolable to the last. And thus they excused to the Prince, because they had delivered themselves from Danger, at the Expence of his Ruin: But indeed their great Necessity may be charged in the Article of Gain, for War is an Enemy to Traffick. So that when they had drawn all the World into War and Confusion, they did not think it any Concern to them, whether Friend or Foe was ruined, provided they could thereby have a greater Opportunity of getting Money. Such a wicked Thing it,

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Thing is Democracy, that it dares to attempt all that is base, without any regard to Shame or Religion: For when a Crime is in common, though all are in Fault, yet take them fingly, and every one is innocent, every one is unwilling that the Thing should be done, but the better Part is swayed by the Greater. wife, how could it come to pass, that when their Country was almost lost, all Europe took up Arms, entering into an Alliance, and never to recede from it, till every Thing should be refrored, and made whole again; and an Oath was given, that not one of them should make Peace without the common Confent of them all: Yet the Dutch, when they law they were fafe enough, by the Hardships that other Men have undergone upon their Account, were the very first, who deferted their Allies, involved in War upon their Account only. by their Treachery it happened, that the Necellity, which they fallely pretended, did in reality fall upon the Rest. For without their Athitance the Spaniard was not able to carry on the War in Flanders: Nor could the Emperor, who was pulled in Pieces by the War in Hungary, Support both Wars, except he was fuccoured by the Dutch and the Spaniard. Since, therefore, they were compelled to agree with the Enemy, all the other Allies were discouraged, and they that remained firm, were io much in the Power of the Enemy, that they were obliged to take whatever Terms he oftered: And he commanded them to restore to the Conquered, no less than the Rewards of all their Conquests, which was every Thing they had taken. Thus these two illustrious Generals, by the irrefiftible Force of Necessity, quitted the War with invincible Minds, but

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wounded with Indignation.

This was the common Treachery which they shewed to all the Confederates, but their Base ness to the Spaniard in particular was much greater. For whereas by the Articles of Peace, Maestricht was to have been delivered to the Spaniard, the Dutch having first made Peace, procured this Town to be delivered to them by the French. The Spaniard demands it as his Right by Compact, but they were deaf to all he said: However, after an obstinate Silence of ten Months, and, as if they had been lash. ed into an Answer, they replyed, that great Sums of Money were due to them, from the Spaniard, on Account of the late Expedition to Messina; and besides, that there was a vast Sum that was not yet paid to the Prince of Orange, which had been promifed to his Anceltors by the Spaniard, at the Treaty of Munfter. To this the King of Spain answered, that it was not confistent with the Faith and Dignity of Alliances, to abrogate their Obligation by Matters fo remote, and which concerned other Men. If this was fuffered to pass, then all Treaties were of no Effect: For there was no Form of Government whatever, but now has, or formerly had, fome Accounts with their Neighbours, not yet fully adjusted. But he was fo far from being chargeable with not pay: ing the Money, that he had voluntarily paid the Prince a yearly Pension of fifty thousand Crowns, and had given him an hundred thoufand at the Return of every Plate-Fleet; and would, if he pleased, agree to give it him still.

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still. If any Arrears remained on Account of the Expedition, let them deliver their Accounts, and he would clear them off; and lastly, he advices them, not to endeavour to make void, and of no Effect, the facred Obligations of Alliances, by fuch ludicrous and trifling Pretences. To this they gave some Aniwer, which never was made publick: But whatever it was, the Spanish Embassador protested against their Partiality in this Affair, with the greatest Indignation, before his Departure. And as it is the Custom of all Nations to make an handsome Present to Embassadors, when they take their Leave; he having, with the utmost Scorn and Contempt, despised their Prelent, devoted those Alliance-breakers and their Money together, to the just Vengeance of God.

But that the Duke of Lorrain, who was one of the first that came into the Alliance, ihould be excluded from the Benefit of the Peace, is a Thing the most of all to be lamented, and, indeed, the foulest Blot upon the Confederacy. For this great Man disdained even to hearken to any Terms of Peace, unless the Dominions of his Family were restored. For, as by the Peace firuck between the Emperor and the King of France, they agreed, that his Dukedom should be restored to him, except Nancy, which is the Capital of Lorrain, and the Duke's Seat; and was to remain as Part of the French Dominions; and also, that Roads should be made half a League wide, from France to Nancy, and from Nancy to Germany, and these too should be under the Command of the French King only. By which Articles the Duke must re-X 2 Prefervation

ceive an Enemy into the Heart of his Counry, ftrongly fortified, and lay it open to the Invasions of the French. For if an Enemy should offer to march that Way, it would not, by the Articles of Peace, be in his Power to ftop them. The Duke, with the Indignation of a Heroe, faid, Do they think that he would give up any Part of the princely Dightty of his Ancestors? he chose rather never to fee his Country. And he declared, by his Embaffadors, that he had rather be stript of all his Dominions, than to leave that maimed and diminished to his Posterity, which he had re-ceived from his Ancestors found and whole. That a Kingdom, which depended upon the Will of another, was very precarious, and al-together Tributary: That such Terms to unreasonable were never offered to, or accepted by any, but Persons in Despair. He therefore frequently protested against the Peace to the Emperor, to the Congress at Nimeguen, and to the imperial Diet : "And when the Articles of Peace were figned and exchanged, his Embaffador, being then prefent at the Congress, publickly protested against it by a Memorial.

Thus, this great Prince, with equal Moderation and Magnanimity, choice rather to fuffer a glorious Exile, than accept an inglorious Dominion. But to a Man, who has lo large a Soul, all the World is not only his Country, but his Kingdom. To a gallant Man his Sword is his Scepter, his Helmet his Crown, and his Breaft his Life guard. For what King ever lived in higher Honour, or with greater Glory whose Power shone more bright than his or who excelled him in heroick Actions? The

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Preservation of Christendom depended so much upon him, that if he did not obtain, yet he seemed to have merited the Empire of Europe. For it was so ordered, thro' the Providence of God, that by the Missortune of one Man, all Europe should be saved, and perhaps rescued from perpetual Bondage: For he brought the Ottoman Power to so low an Ebb, that it cannot be any Terrour to Europe for the Future. Thus by losing his Dominions he became a greater Prince; for it is much more Princely to save many Kingdoms, than to govern one.

Lastly, His singular Moderation, Conduct, and Courage, gave him the Preserence of all the Kings of Europe: As a Prince truly Catholick, the most Christian, and most invinci-

ble Defender of the Faith.

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The End of the SECOND BOOK.



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Lifty His tingular Moderation, Conduct, and Courage, paive him the Preference of all the Kings of Purope: As a Prince tonly Constitute, the most Christian, and most invince.

A Defender of the Faith.

The Est of the SECOND BOOK.





Bishop PARKER's

HISTORY

OF

His Own Time.

BOOK III.

F all the Confederates, the Prince of Orange was the only Man, who reaped any Advantage by the Wars. For whereas he was put out, by the Lovestein Conspiracy, not only from the supreme Power,

which his Ancestors had enjoyed, but was also removed from the Administration of all Asfairs in the Commonwealth, he did hereby recover the same Dignity, and indeed greater,
than his illustrious Family had possessed. Witliam

liam the Second, the Father of this Prince, (who had been baptized by the Name of William, because that had been his Father's Name.) being twenty four Years old, was fnatched away by an untimely Death, in the Year 1650, and not without Suspicion of Poison. For when the republican Faction, in the Province of Holland, endeavoured to deprive him of his Authority, he fuddenly feized upon the City of Amsterdam, at the latter End of July, and put the Ringleaders of the Conspiracy into a Prison, called Lovestein, from which Place the Faction took its Name; and foon after, that is, in the Beginning of October, died of the Small Pox. I will not prefume to determine, whether he was poisoned, or died a natural Death, fince Princes oftentimes are too rashly said to be taken off by Poison. By his Death the Conspirators obtained their Liberty, and having no Body to oppose their Designs, hastened to put their Projects in Execution. The Prince died when his Wife was big with Child; and being delivered of a Son, they resolved to accomplish their Designs before he grew up, and especially before he came to Maturity. The first Thing they did, while he was in fwadling Cloths, was to enter into an Alliance with Cromwell, chiefly upon this Condition, that the Prince of Orange should not be restored to the Honours of his Ancestors; and the States immediately made a Decree, whereby they took from him the Title of Highness. Then they took down the Colours, Standards, and all the Trophies of War, which his Ancestors had taken from the Enemy, and which had been put up in all the publick Places

of every City, that there might not remain any Token or Footstep of the glorious Actions of the House of Orange. But the King of Great-Britain returning through Holland, in the Year 1660, to his paternal Dominions, made Intercession to the States in behalf of his Nephew; who, feigning a Consent, promised to restore him to the same Dignity and Honour, which his Ancestors enjoyed, as soon as he should attain the eighteenth Year of his Age. The Prince's Mother returning with her Brothers into her own Country, committed her Son to the Care and Education of John de Wits, hoping thereby to lay an Obligation upon the principal Man of the Faction, by the Glory and Honour of fo great a Truft. In the Year 1666, a War broke out between the Dutch and the Bishop of Munster, and thereupon a Dispute arose, who should be General of the Dutch Forces.

The other Provinces (especially Zeland, who had always shewed an inviolable Attachment to the House of Orange,) agreed to conser the Title and Honour of General upon the Prince, who was then fixteen Years old, though they did not think fit to entrust him with the Command of the Army, by reason of his Age. The Province of Holland was the only one that flood out against it, who being more powerful than all the Reft, would have the Command given to Turenne, a most experienced General,

but a Foreigner.

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The next Year being pretty far advanced, Auoust, the Prince drawing to the Age of Eighteen, 1667. they published an Edict, which was called perpetual, to abrogate the Posts and Places of Y 2

the House of Orange, which were three in Num-

The chief Authority in the Commonwealth. and the chief Commands in War, both by Sea and Land, which they held during Life.

The States were to have the Disposal of these Places; no Man was to enjoy them for Life, or any one Person to be entrusted with them all, but each of them should be filled up fing-

ly.

This Decree was ratified by an Oath, which every one was obliged to take before he could have any Share in the Administration of publick Affairs; and by this they for ever divefted the House of Orange of all Authority. When they faw that the People were enraged at fo great an Affront, they allowed the Prince a Seat in their general Assemblies, that they might tye him down by the same Oath. Zeland refenting the faucy Behavour of the Hollanders to so great a Prince, voluntarily conferred upon him the Right of Precedency among the Nobility of that Province; by which he obtain. ed the supreme Power as well in that Province, as in the general Assembly of the States.

It afterwards happened, that in the Year 1672, that the French King marched into the Borders of the United Provinces, and had fuddenly, and beyond Expectation penetrated into the Heart of that Country. For he took those Cities in one or two Days, (as I may fay) which the Hollanders had belieged feveral Years before they took them from the Spaniard. He was amazed at his own Conquests, and could scarce give Credit to what he had done; nor did he seem to come to engage an Enemy, but

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rather to take a peaceable Possession of the Country. And indeed it was a Thing not to be wondered at: For the Conspirators (who at that Time had the Administration of Affairs) deferred to raise Forces, least the chief Command should be given to the Prince of Orange. Afterwards, in treating of Peace with the French King, they spent so much time about Trifles, that spurning at their own Terms, he made a fudden Irruption, with a great Army, into their Country, before they could make themselves ready for War. Their Fortifications were half ruined by the Continuance of a long Peace, their Magazines not half stored, their Forces raw and unexperienced, undifciplined and not accustomed to military Exercife; neither had they Men enough to guard the Posts, which they were ordered to defend.

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But it happened to be very fatal to the Dutch, that being at that time in War with the English by Sea, they had embarqued all their best Troops on board their Fleet; for they were more ambitious of Dominion at Sea than at Land. But their greatest ill Conduct was, that they had no General to command their Army; so that all Things were in Confusion, no Orders observed, or any Thing done with Judgement. The other Provinces, being alarmed at these Proceedings, demanded the Prince of Orange for their General. Holland alone flood out a long Time; but being at last over-powered, admitted him into the Honour of that Command, but under this Restriction, that he should have four Tutors, chosen out of themselves, in whom all the Power should be invested. The Prince accepted the Command, fuch as it was, and hastened to the Army; and, upon a general Muster, it appeared that their Forces were not above seventeen thousand in Number; at which time the French had laid close Siege to the City Wesel. The Governour desired a Reinforcement from the new General, he referred the Matter to his Tutors: But they being unexperienced in military Assairs, durst not presume to do any Thing rashly of themselves, and therefore they laid that Affair before the States. In the mean Time,

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the City was taken.

Thus when the French had, in three Months, taken all their Fortresses upon the Borders, and was ready to invade their inland Towns, which were less fortified; the Hollanders commanded the Army to march back to defend their own Province, as if they despaired of the Rest, or cared not what befel them. The People, feeing the Destruction of their Country, rose up in Tumults, as is usual in such Cases. flocked together in all Places, framing strange Things in their Minds; the Women bewailed like mad Folks, and the married Womeu ran about the Streets with dishevelled Hair, and uplifted Hands: In short, there was a general Clamour against the Magistracy, and the People were enraged at their Management, which was so remis. Among these, the de Wits, two Brothers, suffered most, who had long to surped the whole Administration. John, the elder Brother, taking upon him the Power of a Dictator, proposed to himself to accomplish four Things: First, to give the English fuch an Overthrow at Sea, that for the Time to come, they should not prescribe to, but receive Laws

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ceive Laws Laws from the Dutch : Secondly, that the House of Orange should be deprived of all Authority: Thirdly, that Holland should rule the other fix United Provinces; and Fourthly, that every thing in Holland should be at his Dispofal; whereupon he was nick-named King of Holland. As he had first determined that England should be destroyed, so the Wars against the English at Sea, in the Years 1665, and 1666, were chiefly carried on by his Advice, and at his Instigation; and it was principally by his Contrivance and Management, that in the Year following the Piracy at Chatham was committed: Nor would he enter into a Treaty of Peace with the English, until the most Chrifian King having conquered the Provinces in Flanders, began to threaten the Hollanders. But the Storm being blown over, he now meditated nothing but the Destruction of England. To this End, he privately fent an Embassador to the French King, whose Name was Nombas, and follicited him to join his Fleet with the Dutch, and make a sudden Expedition to England. But his most Christian Majesty was to provoked at this dishonourable Proposal, that he discovered the whole Matter to King Charles. This gave Birth to the Alliance between the two Kings; when afterwards, in the Year 1672, the one attacked the Dutch by Sea, and the other by Land. By this War an End was put to the Reign of the two de Wits: For the People being every Day incenfed to a Degree of Madness, at the frequent Conquests of the French, laid all the Blame upon those two Brothers. First. four young Men. rathly brave, conspired to assassinate John de Wits, and as he returned from Council on the 21st Day of Tune, about eleven o'Clock at Night, they fet upon him, and flabbed him in fo many Places, that, as if they had done his Bufiness. they fhifted for themselves. Three of them escaped, but the fourth, whose Name was James de Graef, was taken and beheaded; and he died with great Presence of Mind. But though de Wits had received many Wounds, yet none of them proved mortal, and at last he recovered, but not without much Difficulty. In the mean Time, there was another Conspiracy against his Brother Cornelius. William Ticklaer, a Surgeon by his Profession, and formerly one of the most seditions among all the Faction, discovered, either voluntarily, or was hired to do it, to the Prince of Orange's prime Minifter, that Cornelius had offered him great Rewards to kill the Prince. This Fellow was a Man of no Reputation, and one of the vileft Creatures among all the Populace: Neverthelefs, (fuch is the Madness of Tumults, and so ready are they to give Ear to any Thing,) that upon the Information of this one Man, he was cast into Prison at the Hague, indicted for this Piece of Villany, and received Sentence of Banishment. But the Populace were incenfed at the Lenity of his Punishment, and nothing but his Death could fatisfy them: Wherefore, that he might not escape alive, they furrounded the Prison. It happened that his Brother John came to visit him, in order to Conduct him beyond the Fields of the Town, towards the Place of his Banishment. Tumult lafted fome Hours; at laft they broke open the Prison-Doors, and the Towns Men going 8.

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going up to the Bedchamber, dragged and kicked the two Brothers down Stairs, and bringing them into the Street, stabbed them in a thoufand Places. 'Nor did their Death fatisfy the mean-spirited Revenge of the Rabble, therefore they must be exposed to Contempt. Their naked Bodies were hung upon a Gibbet; then they tore them to Pieces, which they fold for a good Price; then taking out their Bowels, they diftend their Bodies in the same Manner as Butcher's do Cattle when they drefs them. Some there were, who roafted some Pieces of their Flesh, and eat them greedily: And it was faid, that an Inhabitant having got one of their Hearts, falted it, and invited his Friends to partake of that Banquet. Thus they made a favage Feast of those two unfortunate Brothers, whom they had, for some Years, adored as Gods, not out of Revenge, (for perhaps there may feem to be I know not what Sort of Greatness and Generosity in that Vice) but out of Mockery.

But as the Populace are naturally greedy of Change, whether right or wrong, so it often happens that Tumults bring Things about for the better. Thus when their Revenge, or rather their riotous Inhumanity was satisfied upthese Traytors, these furious People began to look back upon, and to savour the Prince of Orange, threatening vehemently not to desist, before he was raised to the Dignity of his Aucestors. The first Effort was made in Dort, which City, as it had formerly bore an implacable Hatred to the House of Orange, so it was now the first that exerted its self in his Favour; demanding that the perpetual Edict should

be repealed, and the Prince be chief Gover-

nour.

Harlem followed this Example, Delft next, then Leyden, afterwards Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the principal Cities in the Province. These compelled the States to repeal the perpetual Edict, and to make another, whereby it should be lawful for the Prince to enjoy his ancient Dignity, and have Power to remove what Magistrates he pleased from any Offices. Thus, with much Difficulty, the Tumults in every City were appealed, and the supreme Power was lodged in the Prince of Orange, not only for Life, but made hereditary in his Family for ever. Thus, at the Conclusion of the War, the Prince was the greatest Conqueror, next to the French King: And God grant that he may long and handsomely enjoy that Government, which he obtained through fo many Battles and Dangers.

Besides the great Havock which the Wars made in Europe, occasioned by breaking the Tripple Alliance, there were other very heavy Calamities, and principally these three: The Incursion of the Turks and Tartars into Poland; the Revolt of Messina from Spain; and the Rebellion of Hungary against the House of Austria; and by each of these Europe was in very great Danger. First, when the Barbarians observed, that almost all the Christian Princes were at War with one or other, they judged this to be a proper Time to invade Poland, which, as it had been for many Ages a Bulwark against their Attempts, so if they conquered it, there would be an eafy Inroad into all Europe. At this time Poland was in a bad

a bad Condition: For the King was weak, and rendered uncapable of managing the Reins of Government; the Nobility were divided into Factions; no Money in the Treasury; and laftly, no Affiftance to be expected from any Prince: However, the great Sobieski, General of the Army, supplyed every Thing by his own Fortune, Conduct, and Bravery. It happened, (if I may go back a little to mention the Actions of fo great a Man,) that in the Year 1667, the Tartars and Coffacks entering into Poland, laid every Thing wafte, deftroyed Man, Woman, and Child, and burnt every Town and City they came at; for this is the Custom which those Barbarians use in War. Sobieski met them with an handful of Men, but was prefently furrounded by the Enemy, whose Host was very numerous; cut off from Provisions, belieged by the Enemy, and by Famine, having no Hopes in Flight, scarce any in coming to an Engagement, and little to be expected from Courage. Yet this Man, who had an invincible Soul, advanced (as it was always his Cuftom) at the Head of his Troops, and broke in upon the Enemy with fuch Force, that being put into Disorder, he routed them, and made great Havock amongst them: By this he struck such a Terrour into the Enemy, that they presently begged him to make Peace with them upon Terms very honourable for Poland. But in the Year 1672, while the Rest of Europe was inslamed with War, the Turk entered fuddenly and unexpectedly into Poland, and took by Surrender, after a Siege of twelve Days, Caminieck, the Metropolis and Key of upper Podolia, which Z 2

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they had often attempted, but never could make themselves Masters of before. At this time the General Sobieski had made an Expedition against the Tartars, who regard no Treaties, and routed them with great Slaughter; for twelve thousand of the Enemy were killed on the Field of Battle. Before his Return, Michael, King of Poland, clapped up a Peace with the Turk and Tartar upon the most ignominious Terms; he obliged himself to pay to each of them an annual Tribute; he delivered up a great Part of Ukrain, and all Podolia to the Enemy. At this News Sobieski raged and formed, and marched the Army with all Expedition near to the Court of the timorous King: And he defired in the Diet, that the base and scandalous Peace might be cancelled. For, fays he, it is not to be suffered that the Majesty of that invincible Kingdom fhould be tributary to any one, much less to the Enemies of Christendom: And if the States of the Kingdom would furnish him with an Army of fixty thousand Men, he would drive both the Bar. barians out of every Part of Poland. In the mean Time, he marched with a finall Number of Troops; and when Intelligence was brought, that the Enemy was encamped on the other Side the Borifthenes, with forty thoufand Men, and that an Army much more numerous would foon march out of Afia, he palled over that great River with all Expedition, and attacked the Barbarians in their Camp. The Battle was, for a long time, hot and doubtful, the Enemy being vaftly superiour in Number; but at last they were routed, and almost an universal Slaughter made among them: For they they that escaped the Sword, perished in the River; for out of forty thousand, not above five thousand were left alive. By this one Victory he conquered both Armies; for that which was marching out of Asia, being informed of this total Defeat, shamefully retreated. In the Height of this Victory, News was brought of King Michael's Death, which seemed to be a Reward of his Conduct and Courage, and an Omen of his greater Fortune, having by this fingular Piece of Service merited the Crown. In pursuance of this, the States elected him King in the Month of May, in the Year following; he being then fifty one Years of Age: And not waiting for the Solemnity of his Coronation, he marched towards the Enemy. But the Nobles and Senators, though they had promised to augment his Army to fixty thoufand Men, yet being miserably divided into Factions, did not perform their Promise. However, the King marched to the Borders, at the Head of fixteen thousand Men to meet the Enemy; but they not appearing, he retook that Winter many of the Towns and Cities in Ukrain and Podolia, which had been yielded up to the Barbarians. In the Beginning of the next Year, the Enemy made an Irruption with an Army of two hundred thousand Men, and first affaulted Slencek with fixty thousand: But being repulsed with great Loss, marched towards Lemberg; into which City the King had brought his Queen and his Children, to keep up the Courage of the People. He pitched his Camp in a convenient Place, a Mile distant from the City, and laid feveral Ambushes in the adjacent Woods and Thickets; leaving nothing

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thing undone with was confiftent with the Conduct of a General. He had not above four thousand Men in the open Field, and with these he waited for the Enemy to come up. When they began to advance, he exhorted and encouraged the Soldiers to conquer or dye with him; and the Signal of Battle being given, calling three times upon the Name of Fefus he led them on. The Barbarians, aftonished partly at the Warmth and Vigour with which they fought, and giving way to those who came out of their Ambush, though at the first Onset they fought couragiously, yet they were put into fuch Diforder, not only in the Front, but on the Flanks, that many thousands being killed, the Rest sled in such Consusion, that they did not stop till they retired into their own Camp. Some Days after, Succours came to Lemberg from the Dutchy of Lithuania; and the King purfued the Enemy with the longeft Marches he could make, and an Army of fifteen thousand Men, having left the Rest to garrison the Cities. The Barbarians had befieged Buckraes; but receiving Intelligence that the King advanced towards them, they fuddenly raised the Siege, and retiring to Trembowl, invested that Town. The King fent Letters to the Governour, wherein he told him, that he would haften to his Relief; but the Messenger being taken, and the Letters intercepted, upon reading them, such a Terrour ran through the Camp, that marching in great Diforder, much like to a general Rout, the Tartars guarding them on one Side, they retired towards Caminieck. They did not halt till they had fled fifteen Leagues, nor did they think

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they hink think themselves safe till they had encamped within the Fortifications of Caminieck, and within Cannon-shot. But this did not prove any Obstacle to the Pursuit; for the King, by his long Marches, haftened towards Caminieck; at the News of which, the Turk, leaving a ftrong Garrison in that City, marched his affrighted Army over the Boristhenes. The King of Poland falling upon their Rear, made great Havock among them; but the Turks fled with indefatigable Expedition before him, and did not halt, till they had passed the Danube. The King took the Bridge which they had laid over the Boristhenes, and made himself Master of five hundred Money-Waggons, and others laden with all Sorts of Furniture, and Provifion, which he gave as Plunder to his Soldiers. Thus the Campaign being fo fuccessfully ended, he marched his Army into Winter-Quarters; though indeed it does not feem to have been so properly a War as a Chace. To put fixty thousand Men to Flight with a handful of four thousand, was a Thing scarce ever heard; and then to drive above one hundred and fifty thousand before him, like frighted Sheep, with a small Army of fixteen thousand, is wonderful: To which we may add, his raising two fuch great Sieges, and driving the Enemy to a præcipitate Flight, by the Terrour of his Arms. For my Part, I do not remember that such a glorious Enterprize was ever performed by those ancient Generals, whom Greece reverenced, and Rome so much admired.

In the Beginning of next Spring, the King 1676. was crowned; and about the Middle of Summer, the Turks and Tartars entered Poland

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with vast Numbers. The King marched up to them with a finall Army, despising an Enemy whom he had often put to flight, and routed an hundred and fifty thousand, having made great Havock among them. The Turk, being dispirited at such great and repeated Losses, fent Embassadors to sue for Peace; the King granted them most honourable Terms: First that the last Peace with King Michael should be null and void: Secondly, that Ukrain, and all Podolia, except Caminieck, should be restored to the Poles: Thirdly, that there should be a Chartel for exchange of Prisoners : Fourthly, that there should be a free Exercise of the Christian Religion, in all the Places, granted to the Turk by this Treaty : Fifthly, that the Turk should renounce all his Right to the Tribute agreed to be given by the last Treaty: Sixtbly, that there should be a defensive League between them against all who should attack them: And laffly, that the holy Sepulchre should be restored to the Christians.

The Poles never made Peace with the Turk, upon more honourable Terms. Every Thing being now in a perfect Tranquillity, the King, a few Years after, (1679) when he observed that the Wars among the Christian Princes were ended, sent Embassadors to all the Courts of Europe, inviting them to come into a general Alliance against the common Enemy of Christianity. He had such an Antipathy to the Insidels, and so much Zeal to the Christian Faith, that he seemed to be sent into the World on purpose to rescue Europe from the shameful Tyranny of the Mahometans. What Progress his Embassadors made, I have not heard; but

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but this Affair was not brought to Perfection, (by whose Ambition and Treachery it was prevented, I will not fay) till the Turk furioufly invading Hungary, and threatening common 1683. Danger to most of them, proved the Means of accomplishing what the Polander could not Effect. King Sobieski, as if he rejoyced at this Opportunity, took up Arms with more than usual Alacrity; but what, and how many great Things he did, shall be fairly related, when I come to treat of Count Teckeli's War, wherein he had the greatest Share in the Victory; whose Terrour contributed as much to the Enemy's Overthrow, as his Bravery. For when News was spread abroad that he was to be Captain-General, his very Name made them tremble; in whatever Part of the Battle he engaged, he had fuch a martial Countenance, and Eyes so piercing, that the Enemy could not bear to look upon him. His Prefence alone put them to flight; and it gave him and the other Generals no small Uneasinels, that after so many long Marches, they obtained a Victory with fo much Ease.

The Courage of the Infidels funk so low from that Time, that (I hope) it will be no hard Matter to vanquish them for the Future. The Ottoman Empire never was so near to Destruction before; and if this great Desender and Supporter of Christianity has the same Success this Year, as he had the last, it is to be hoped, 1685. that Mahometism will be driven out of Europe, and the Turkish Empire, being shaken by its own Weight, perish in its own Ruins. These Affairs of Poland were occasioned by the Breach

of the Tripple Alliance.

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From the fame Caule a Rebellion fprung up in Sicily, which swallowed up a Multitude of Souls: For the King of Spain carrying on a War both in Flanders and Catalonia, and having bad Success, the City of Messina revolted, either voluntarily, or by Encouragement from abroad. This City had more Power and Authority than any in the Island; it was fortified with four Fortresses, and fourteen Forts, fitter ated upon the Sea coaft, a Place of great Mart, rich in Trade, and had a very large Haven, and many Ships. The Conspiracy first broke out in the Month of August, 1674, which was ftrengthened (as is usual in every Rebellion) by Sacrilege, spoiling the Churches of all their Furniture: And afterwards followed the Murder of one hundred and fixty Persons of noble Families, for no other Reason than the Hatred and Envy which the Rebels bore to Nobility. The next Thing they did was to lay their Neighbours under Contribution, and to oblige all the Inhabitants, within fixteen Leagues, to furnish them with Bread-Com. They imported great Quantities of warlike Stores, and fent Embassadors to all the Princes Courts round about them, to defire Affiftance; and transacted every Thing both at home and abroad, as if they had been a free Commonwealth, and were at their own Disposal. The French fent Succours to them immediately, and making a Descent, joined their Forces with those of the City, and took all the walled Towns that were near them: But being blocked up by Sea and Land by the Spaniard, they were almost starved, during the Winter. In the sollowing Spring the French Fleet arrived with great up

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great Store of Provisions, and the Spaniard challenged them to an Engagement; but the French proving to be an Over-match for them, made themselves Masters of the Port, though not without great Slaughter on both Sides. At this the Inhabitants greatly rejoyced, not only because the Fleet had brought them strong Relief, but also Plenty of all Things, at a Time when they were ready to starve. The Queen-Mother, who at that Time governed Spain, being much incenfed hereat, imprisoned the principal Officers of the Fleet, and the Vice-Roy of the Island. In March a Plague broke out in the City, and ipread itself over the whole Island, which swept away so many Soldiers, that there were not enough left for a Battle. Upon this, new Fleets arrived from each Side, and the Spaniard requires Affistance by Land from the Germans, and by Sea from the Dutch. The Merchants, who of all Men are the most greedy of Lucre; transported Corn from every Country into the City, because it there bore a good Price: But when the King of England heard this, he issued a Proclamation, forbidding all his Subjects to have any Commerce with the Rebels; declaring, that he would not, contrary to the Laws of Nations, and the lacred Ties of Alliance, fuffer any of his People to fuccour a foreign Rebellion; and that, as far as it lay in his Power, he would inflict the fame Punishment upon those who should ailift them, as if they had rebelled against himielf. This was a Proclamation worthy of a King; for it is the common Cause of every Monarch, to reduce the Rebels of any other Prince to their Duty and Obedience. The Troops Aa2

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Troops on both Sides being greatly reinforced. spent the whole Summer in Skirmishes, and mutual Sieges; and the Fortune of War was for the most Part, doubtful, except, that it feemed a little to favour the French: For they took the City Augusta by Surprize, the Spaniards having at that time been separated by a Storm, all their Ships shattered, and seven funk; but at the latter End of the Year, Ruyter failed to their Affistance, by Order of the States Gene-In the Beginning of the next Year, the French Fleet appeared, and an Engagement following, with equal Lofs on both Sides, except that, as the People of Messina had suffered, for a long I ime, great Hardships for Want of Provisions, the French brought Ships into their Harbour, laden with Corn. But though this could not be called a Victory, yet it was much better, because they supplyed the City with Provisions, whereby they were delivered from all the Straits of a Siege. Ruyter being disgusted at the Spaniards, sailed away; but by Command of the States he returned in a few Days, and blocked up the City by Sea, while the Spaniard blocked it by Land. In the Month of April, the Year following, there was an Engagement at Sea with the French, which was fought with great Slaughter; and Ruyter died foon after, at Syracufa, of the Wounds he had received. Thus it fortunately happened to this gallant Man, that by his Death he should compleat the Glories of his former Lite, fince he died in a just War against Rebels, at ter he had performed so many brave Actions in Honour of his Country. The French attacking suddenly the Spanish and Dutch Fleets. l,

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destroyed most of them : Three Admiral-Ships, feven others, and fix Transports were burnt: And when the Dutch returned home, the French made a Descent upon the Island, and took most of the walled Towns. Thus they continued the War with various Success, till the Year 1678, when having fuddenly received Orders from the French King, commanding them to return; they embarked every Thing on Board the Fleet, pretending, that they had some great Enterprize in Hand, which was to be put in Execution with all their Forces: And having done this, they imparted their Orders to the Citizens; who, being stripped of their Support, trembled, and were as in great Confusion, as it the Enemy had taken and lacked the Town. Many went on Board the French Fleet, and they were sentenced to perpetual Banishment. Many others, leized with a panick Fear, went away naked and poor to Venice, and other Seaports of Italy; but to thefe, the Vice-roy (a very prudent Man) gave Leave to return to their Goods and Properties. Thus, after a War of five Years, in which much Blood was spilt throughout the whole Island, all Things were reduced to their former State and Condition. The Cause of this sudden Change was the same with all the Rest; for the French King did not enter into a Treaty of Peace in earnest, until the King of England joined this Year with the Confederates for the Defence of Flanders: He raised an Army of thirty thousand Men, and fitted out a Fleet of ninety Sail. Thefe, at the King's Requelt, were allowed by Parliament, and they unanimously promised to grant his Majesty large Supplies, during the Continuance of the War,

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This News mollified the French King's Obstinacy; for he now law that he was over-powered by the Enemy; and though he did not fear all Europe besides, yet he must submit to British Valour. Upon this a Peace was concluded in a very little Time with the Dutch and the Spaniard; for as the King of England had entered into an Alliance with them only, he had nothing farther to do with the War. He therefore being taken off, the French King (as I have faid) obliged the other Confederates to accept such Terms, as he was pleased to grant. And tho' he had fent a fresh Army into Sicily, about the Time that the King of England proclaimed War against him, which were upon the Point of putting his Orders in Execution, yet in a Moment he gave up all the Benefit of his Labour and Expence, after he had fent out fo many Fleets, and brought so many Armies into the Field; after he had provided fuch vaft Quantities of Provision, and had come to so many Engagements by Sea and Land for the Space of five Years. For as the King of England was his Enemy, he would not venture his Fleet too far from his own Coasts. This is certain, that the Fate of Europe did then depend upon the King of England alone, and he gave Peace or War, as he pleased. Europe enjoyed a profound Peace and Tranquillity fo long as he thought fit to continue the Tripple Alliance; but when he receded from that, a War flamed out every where, and there was icarce a Country, except England, free from it: So that the French King, for fix Years together, carried on a War with infinite Lols of Men, being a Match for all the Rest. The King of England offered

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to be a Mediator and Arbitrator of Peace, when he found that an End could not otherwise be put to the War. The French King consented to this; but trifled away three Years in foolish Demands, made by his Emballadors: And all that he did was to prevent, as much as he could, the Treaty from taking Effect. The King of England, grown weary of fuch Delay, and fuch Chicanery, threatened to proclaim War against him, if he would not come into pacifick Measures; and what he threatened, he bravely performed, by fending Part of his Army into Flanders. Upon this, all Delay was cut off, and the Peace, which the French King had fo long deterred, was accepted by him, upon the hardest Terms; for he was obliged to reftore all the Places he had taken in the War.

Great-Britain is so happily situated by Nature, that it may give Laws not only at home, but abroad; for as it abounds with numerous and very commodious Ports, fo from thence Traffick and Commerce arise; and from Plenty of Commerce, Fleets of Ships, and a Multitude of Sea-Men; and upon these depends the chief Power at Sea: So that whoever has this, may carry it as far as he pleafes, and make himself Arbitrator of Peace and War between his neighbouring Princes. And this Dominion at Sea is the peculiar Prerogative of the Kings of England, and makes them the Guardians and Arbitrators of the Peace of Europe. There is no Necessity for them to extend their Empire into foreign Countries; for Conquests beyond Sea are very precarious, and have always been a Burthen and Expence to the Kingdom: However, the Lord of the Ocean may exercise a Jurisdiction beyond the Limits of his own Empire, from the Rifing to the Set. ting of the Sun. And though it is not necesfary to subdue foreign Nations, yet to guard their Neighbours from Invafions, is certainly the greatest Part of Empire. For there is more Glory in keeping an Enemy from entering another's Kingdom, than in conquering him; and there is not fo much Honour in subduing ten Kingdoms, as in refcuing one from Oppression. The Kings of England can shew divine Favour to all Mankind; and as they have no Occasion to hurt any one, so they have it in their Power to succour the Distressed; and this is the greatest Power in the World, and the best Reafon that can be given for having that Power: For to be called a Deliverer, is a Name much more glorious than that of King only.

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The third and most dreadful Danger to Christendom, proceeded from the War in Hungary; but the Series of this Affair is too long to require a Detail of every Particular: It will be fufficient to shew that it took its Rise from the fame Spring, namely, the Breach of the Tripple Alliance. For as the Emperor of Germany employed all his Forces against the French King, who was then at War with him, the Hungarians, thinking that this was a proper Time to recover their Liberties, role up in open War, to which they had a long time in clined, having been under-hand encouraged by the Turk to revolt; and made Religion and Liberty the Pretence for the War. The Emperor promised to grant their Demands it they would lay down their Arms; but they aimed at something else. Having therefore received

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ceived a Supply of Money and Troops from the Turk, they proceeded every where to Butthery and Murder: They killed the Clergy as Sheep, burned the Noblemen's Seats, plundered the Churches, and did all the base Things, that a Rabble are used to do; and at last, in the Year 1678, they chose Count Teckeli, a proud and daring Man, to be their General. He flung himself presently under the Protection of the Turk, promiting to do every Thing that he would have him, and not to make Peace with the Emperor without his Confent. The Turk, at first, gave him a favourable Reception, and fent an Embassador to the Emperor to grant his Demands. What he asked, he quickly obtained; however, he fecretly abetted the Hungarians. The Emperor complained. that this was contrary to the facred Ties of the League they had made; which was denyed by an Oath. In the mean Time, the Hunwith a great Reinforcement. garian Rebels, took the Field, and besieged several Towns and Castles. But when Count Lesley, who commanded the Emperor's Forces in Hungary, advanced towards them, they durst not venture a Battle; but retreating hastily from one Part of the Country to another, plundered every Town and City they passed through. In the mean Time, they fent Ministers to treat of Peace, who made a Report of what Terms were offered. The Hungarians were divided into Factions: One of them, by the Advice of Teckeli, was willing to accept the Terms that were offered; but Count Wellalini, who was at the Head of the other Faction, was of Opimon that larger Terms ought to be demanded, Bb and

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and they concurred in his Opinion. The War was renewed in the Beginning of the next Spring; but a Peace being concluded between the Emperor and the French King, the imperial Forces were now in a Readiness to march to the War in Hungary. Two Years were fpent (viz. 1679, and 1680,) in Battles and Truces. The Emperor was fo perplexed, that he knew not what to do; for the King of France again drew near to Germany, and the Pole and Muscovite preffed him to enter into a League against the Turk; and on the other Hand, the Turk threat. ened to invade Hungary with all his Forces, if he made such a League. The Emperor being thus beset on every Side, knew not what Meafures to take; besides, the Muscovite had entered into an Alliance with the Turk. While Teckeli and his Party, seemed to defire Peace, they refused all the Overtures that were made in order to effect it. The Infection had spread into Germany; for Sedition encreased among the Boors, Embassies were made fruitless by the Turk, and under a Colour of fending Embassadors, Spies were fent into Vienna, At length, after various Artifices had been used, the Hungarians, in the Year 1681, seemed to be fincerely inclined to enter into a Treaty of Peace by their Ministers, that the Emperor summoned the Diet of the Kingdom to meet at Odenburgh, a City upon the Borders of lower Hungary and Austria. He was present at the Assembly, and in a Latin Oration exhorted them to Peace, promifing to grant them very honourable Terms: First, they demand to have a Vice roy or Palatine, who should be one of their own Country-men, and Count Esterbasi was presently invefted

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vefted with that Dignity: But Teckeli and his Party, in order to render every Thing fruitlefs. protested against that Election, and, at the fame Time, infifted upon the Emperor's granting most unreasonable Terms; particularly, that they should pay a yearly Tribute to the Turk. Nor is this to be wondered at, for the Traytor had privately made a League with the Turk upon that Condition: And therefore without any Hesitation, they joined their Forces, and openly took up Arms. About the fame Time, the French King began to march into Germany, and fuddenly befieged and took Strafburgh, and that firong Town, Cafal, the Capital of Monterat: And by the one, an Inroad was made into Austria, and by the other, into Italy. The Factious among the Diet, were fo elated at this, that they added other Terms, which the Emperor could not come into, and therefore they endeavoured to break up the Diet, without concluding upon any Thing. At this Insolence, they who were inclined to pacifick Measures, promised to pay the greatest Allegiance and Fidelity to the Emperor upon the Terms which he had offered them: And when Teckeli heard this, he defired a Truce, that he might also treat of Peace. This Affair was spun out to a great length, and making a new League with the Turk, he imposed upon the Credulity of the Emperor's Ministers. The Turk, in the mean Time, makes very great Preparations for War; and the Emperor alking against whom his Forces were defigned, was answered, that by the facred Majesty of God, they were not intended against him. At length, the most Chri-Jian King did, by his Embassador, discover to B b 2 the

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the Emperor, that the War was defigned against him; and that he would withdraw all his Troops out of Germany, and affift him with an Army of thirty thousand Men, upon certain Conditions, if he wanted them. During the whole Summer, Tecketi and his Party overran their own Country, plundering every Town they came at, and making great Havock, and all the Desolation and Misery, usual in a civil War. The Emperor was fo moved at the Calamities and Sufferings of the Hungarians, that by his Embassador he begged, almost in the humblest Manner, that the Turk would make Peace; but all to no Purpole, for the grand Vizier (who had the chief Power) haftened the Preparations for War. The Embas. fador, on the other Hand, urged the Obligations of the League, which had been fo religigiously made for twenty Years; to which the Vizier answered, that it should continue upon these Terms.

That the Emperor should pay to the Turk as much Money, as the Expences in making Preparations for War, amounted to: Next, that he should pay him a yearly Tribute for the Future: And lastly, that the Cities Comorra and Raab, with the Isle of Scuts, upon the Danube, should be delivered to him. These Proposals being rejected, the white Horse Tail was hung up, which is the Turk's Method of proclaiming War. Upon this, the Emperor sounded Teckeli whether he could be brought, to accept of any Terms of Peace. He demands no less than the Principality of Hungary for himself; and a Vote in the Diet as the Princes of the Empire have: That the Popish Clergy should

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gy. ld fhould pay an annual Tribute to the Turk : whom (laftly) the Emperor should pacify with a large Sum of Money. These Conditions being also rejected, Teckeli and the Turk made this Agreement: That the Kingdom of Hungary should be settled upon Teckeli and his Posterity; that if the Race of Teckeli should be extinct, the Hungarians should elect a King of their own, with the Confent of the Turk; that a yearly Tribute of four hundred thousand Crowns should be paid; that the Liberties of the Hungarians should be for ever fecured; that the Turk should defend them from all their Enemies; that Teckeli should never make Peace with the Emperor, without the Confent of the Turk; that the Jefuits should be banished; and lastly, that the Turk confirm these Articles with an Oath. Teckeli, being made King, he prefently fummons a Diet to meet at Callovia; he demands from the Nobility a Pledge for their Fidelity, and (as Clemency and Mercy are the greatest Embelishments which Princes can have,) he promifed, by his Embassador, whom he had fent to Vienna, to mediate a Peace for the Emperor. But his imperial Majesty, ipurning at the Insolence of the Man, entered into a League with the neighbouring Princes, particularly the King of Poland. Now the Army march out of their Winter Quarters to the Camp; and all the Forces in Africa, Afia, and Europe, that were under the Turk's Jurisdiction, together with an infinite Number of Lartars, were in Motion. To stop the Progress of these Barbarrans, the Duke of Lorrain was lent, who alone had the Command of the imperial Army, which

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which confisted of no more than forty thonfand Men: But being over-powered by such vast Numbers, he retreated with wonderful Courage and Conduct to Vienna, he himself bringing up the Rear. The Turks hastened to that City, laying waste all the Fields, and burning every Town and Village on each Hand, as they marched: Presently they sormed a Siege; and though the City was not very well sortified with Walls and Forts, yet it was impregnable because Staremberg desended it.

But as this Siege was the most memorable of any in this Age, or perhaps in the Memory of Man, I may be allowed to give a Description of that great Affair. Never did Men fight with greater Strength, or greater Animosity; Religion and Empire being what they contended for on both Sides. In befieging Vienna alone, the whole Christian World was befieged; nor was the Sword drawn against Aufiria only, but against Europe also; for if the Enemy should be conqueror, the Name of Chrifian was to be deftroyed from the Face of the Earth. For thus did the Turk threaten the God of the Christians, when he proclaimed War: "That he would drive him out of the World " by Force of Arms; that he would establish " among all Nations, from the Rifing to the " Setting of the Sun, the Dominion and Wor-" ship of his Mahomet; that he would bring " the crucified God into Subjection; whom, if he should dare to assist his Worshippers, (for fuch was the infolent Expression of this Barbarian) " he challenged to come and meet " him: And laftly, that all the People of the "World should know by the Event of this " Affair,

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" Affair, which Religion was the most accept-" able and pleafing to the most high God." When the Belieged faw that the Fate of the Christian World depended chiefly upon their Courage; and not one of them expecting to have an End put to his extream Mifery, but by Death or Victory; they, as if they had religiously tied themselves down by a Bond, like People in Despair, took an Oath to defend the City (as we fay) to a Man. But their chief Confidence, and greatest Hopes, next to the Justness of their Caule, and the Favour of God, were placed in the Fortune and Conduct He had been accustomed to of Staremberg. Dangers, but was never wounded, much less conquered in all his Life; and Cuftom taught him to be as regardless of Danger, as Nature did to be ignorant of Fear. But thus this Aftair went on.

On the fifteenth Day of July the Enemy marked out of their Camp two hundred Yards from the Fortifications of the City, and drew a Line of Circumvallation, and raised Parapets to defend them from the Enemy's Cannon; then they made Redoubts, and planting Cannon there, they fired from thence continually all the next Day, and throwing Bombs into the City, great Damage enfued, especially to the Palace and the Cathedral. On the other Hand, Staremberg fortified the Town-ditch with a Scarp and Counterscarp to keep the Enemy far off from the Walls; and in these the chief Desence of the City afterwards confifted. On the feventeenth Day the Enemy drew their Forces closer together, and turned all their Cannon against two Bastions, and a Ravelin between them.

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them, and, at the same Time, began an Attack with three Bodies, the Cannon playing Night and Day. In the mean Time, the Works were carried on by the Enemy, and two Mines made under the Fortifications, although the Befieged made frequent Sallies. On the twenty third they fprung two Mines, which did little Damage. On the twenty fifth another Mine was sprung, which blew up Part of the Wall; hereupon they advanced on both Sides, and the Attack was sharp and doubtful; but at last the Enemy was driven back with great Loss. The next Day the Turks shot Letters into the City, which were fastened to their Arrows, threatening, that if they did not furrender the City immediately, which God the Avenger of broken Alliances, had doomed to to Destruction, they would utterly destroy it, and put every Body to the Sword. Immediately they made a furious Affault, springing their Mines, and firing their Cannon: And though at every Attack the Enemy was repulsed with the Loss of many Men, yet as their Army was very large, they did not fuffer so much by the Numbers that were flain, as the Besieged did by the Slaughter of a sew. On the fourth of August, one of the Out-works being weakened, the Enemy made themselves Masters of it; but were presently driven out of it with great Lois, and put into Confusion. Some Part of the Fortifications were every Day taken by springing Mines, and retaken by Force of Arms. Trenches were made between the Walls, and the other Trenches that were guarded by the Besieged, that if the Enemy took the one, they might be driven back by the other: at last, on the third of September the Turks made a Lodgment upon one of the Ravelins, which they had blown up by Springing a Mine, but not without the Loss of a vast Number of Men; and the next Day they made a Breach in another, thirty Yards wide, but the Besieged filling it up immediately with great Heaps of Earth, prevented the Enemy's Enterance. By these Ruins they carried on their Mines to the very Walls; and on the sixth of September they spring a Mine, whereby a Breach of six and thirty Yards was made, and the Besieged, seeing the Walls levelled, placed themselves there, and drove the Enemy, who had been obstructed by the Ruins, back to their Camp:

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In the Night a Bulwark, made with Heaps of Earth, was erected in the place of the Fortifications that had been broke down. The City was now straitened to the last Degree, when News was brought that the Christian Army advanced: and the Turks hearing this, made an Affault much fiercer, than any before. The next Day new Breaches were made by the Enemies Mines, info much that the City was quite naked; but the more eager and resolute the Turks were in the attack, with greater Courage were they repulf-In the mean Time they prepare for a Battle, for which End they took a general Muster of the Army; and it appeared they had loft forty eight thousand five hundred and forty five Men from the beginning of the Seige to that Time. But now that great and memorable Day, the 12th of September, began to dawn; and as foon as Day light appeared, the Christian Army advanced towards the Enemies Camp. The King of Poland led the Right Wing, Lorrain Cc

the Left, and in the Center were the Princes of the Empire, Saxony, Bavaria and Waldeck, each at the Head of his own Troops. They marched flowly towards the Enemy, who thereupon (it feemed) advanced with the greater Warmth. The Army halted; but as often as the Enemy wheeled about, they drew nearer to them, and at every wheeling forced them to retreat before them to the Camp. The Christians pressed upon them by their Motions only; and when they came to an Engagment the Turks gave Ground; and at last they were so astonished at the Firmnfes and Courage of the Christians, and the wonderfull good Order of the whole Army, that they hastily retreated to their Camp. Here they fought more tharply for some Hours, and being at last overcome more by the Courage of the Christians, then by the Loss they had sustained, they fled in fuch Confusion, that every one was glad to escape which way he could. said the Grand Vizier was the first that shewed them the Example. Their Camp, with a prodigious Booty, was taken : the warlike Stores were carried into the Emperor's Armory, and the rest of the Booty was given to the Soldiers: and fuch a vast quantity of Riches was taken, that every private Centinal was made a rich Man, so great was the Plunder.

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The Grand Vizier's Pavilion fell to the King of Poland's Lot, in which he lay that Night. It is faid, that in this and the Tents of the Bashaws, they took a Million Sterling, besides a vast quantity of Furniture reckoned to be of great Value. The Germans were not so greedy of Plunder; and they thought they were happy enough in being delievered on a sudden from Destruction

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Destruction, at which they were amazed, and could scarce believe it. There was one Thing very memorable; that while both Armis were engaged, the Turks assulted the City with more eagerness then they had done before; but whether it was thro' Courage or Fear, is uncertain, or whether they thought they were able, to carry on the Attack and give Battle to the Enemy at the same time: or what is most probable, that in Case they could take the City, they might then retreat within 'its Fortifications, if they should be beaten from their Camp. At this last Assault, a very wide Breach was made in the Walls, but the Besieged planting their Cannon there, kept the Enemy from Entering. Starembrg gave Notice to Lorrain of the Condition the City was in, who immediately fent the Prince Baden, with eight thousand Men, to his Relief. They immediatly fell upon the Turks, who did not expect an Enemy from that Quarter, and the Befieged made a Sally at the same time, and being closed in before and behind, fix thousand Janizaries were killed in the Trenches.

This was the Course and Event of that remarkable Siege, than which no former Age ever saw one more glorious, and perhaps no suture will be able to produce a parallel. We have mentioned one or two before, those of Stetin and Triers, under Crequi; which perhaps were carried on with equal Pains and Labour, and defended with equal Courage: but never was any City reduced to such Extremity and Danger, which did not either surrender, or was not taken, But Staremberg would not suffer any thing in common with other Men, C c 2

When the Walls of the City were but Death. levelled he fought as if it had been in the open Field; and to the last, it could not so properly be called a Siege as a Battle ; nor did he only drive the Enemy from the Walls, (which was a fufficient Victory for the Befieged) but in a fair Battle raifed the Seige with the entire Destruction of the Enemy. Many Battles followed afterwards, which are worthy to be mentioned, but I chuse rather to close all with this which is the most Memorable then afterwards to relate other of less Note, tho' great in themfelves. I have put all these together, not having so much regard to the Order of Time, as of the Subject: for in these is contained the Histroy of all those Mischiess, which happened to Europe by the Breach of the Tripple Alliance, From hence let proud Mortals learn, that the greatest Matters have their Dependence upon the Turn of small Affairs; and that the greatest Flames take their Rife from little Fire, tho' it be an ignis fatuus.

The End of the Third Book:



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Bishop PARKER's

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BOOK IV.



HE fixth of those deadly Sins, (which I spoke of before) was the Proclamation, issued by the King for Liberty of Conscience, by which too great a Liberty of Religion was granted to the Sec-

taries. The factious Parties, of whom I have already made mention, had always, with unwearied diligence, blown up that Coal, which occasioned so much Mischief; but what they had so often attempted in vain, they now obtained with very little Pains: for War was immediately proclaimed against the Dutch. The Enemy had in every War before, urged the Sectaries

Sectaries to Rebellion, who of themselves were

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too much inclined to Sedition and Faction. and always broke out with greater Violence. when the Enemy pressed them to it. They gave it as their Advice, that the most effectual Way to put a Stop to this Evil, would be to grant them a voluntary Indulgence. a Courtefy fo generous and unexpected would certainly appeale them; and that the most prudent Kings and Emperors had taken fuch politick Steps in every Age. Thus Constanting the Great, though he persecuted the Donatists, (who were the Sectaries of that Age) with the bitterest Punishment, yet, in the War with Licinius, he fent Letters, being compelled by Necessity, to Verinus, who was his Lieutenant in Africa, to grant them not only Liberty of Conscience, but to recall those who had been The same Emperor, by the Edict which he fent to Bassus, at that time his Lieutenant in Italy, left voluntarily to the Novatians (the Puritans of that Age) the Churches and Burying-Grounds. So did the Emperor's Honorius and Arcadius, than whom no Emperor ever made more or feverer Laws against Schifmaticks, especially the Donatists, whom he persecuted to Death, and at last cut them of from the face of the Earth: yet when the Matter was almost finished, and the Goths happened to invade Africa, in the midst of this Danger, he granted Liberty of Conscience to them, unasked, lest they should join with the Enemy, as they had done fome time before, when Gildo rebelled. Valentinian the Elder, was highly praised for his generous Disposition in putting out an Edict in favour of all Sec-

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taries, whereby he granted to every one of them the free Exercise of Worship, according to their own Persuasion: and though he was an Emperor famed for his Prudence, yet he never was fo much extolled for any one Thing he did, for this generous Act of Clemency. For thus the Historian praised him in these Words: Ammian. Lastly, he grew famous for his Moderation, in Marc. Lib. fanding neuter among the Differences of Religion; 13. for be neither disturbed, or compelled any one to this, or that way of Worship; nor did be threaten or prohibit any of his Subjects, or bow down their Necks to what he him elf was inclined, but left these uncorrupted Parties, as he found them. After this Example, Valentinian the Younger Cod, 7h. put forth an Edict, whereby he gave liberty de fide to the very Arians, as well as to the Catho- Cath.Leg. licks, to affemble and use their own Method of 4. Worship; and made it High-Treason in any one, who should endeavour the contrary. Theo- Socrat. dosius the Great, having banished the Here- Lib. 5. ticks, who did not agree in the Faith, yet Cap. 10. made a Law, commanding that the Novatians, because they did agree in the Faith, should have liberty to hold their Meetings within the and have the use of their Churches. And others, not only Emperors, but Prelates have been known to do the fame Thing. Nor Idem Lib. were their Churches taken from them (let the 7. Cap. 12. Truth of this depend upon this approved Historian) 'till the Time of Pope COELESTINE, who was the first that forced them to assemble in private Houses, when the POPEDOM had transgressed its Bounds, and degenerated into Tyranny. They said further, that Maximus, the Tyrant, was the only Person that inflict-

ed Death upon the Priscillianists: that the of ther Emperors granted Indulgence not only to the Christian Hereticks, but to Heathens, Jews, Manichees, and Apostates: every one worshiping after his own Manner. That these were the chief Articles of the Theodofian Codes, and that the Wisdom of those Times consisted chiefly in this Moderation. So Baldwin, and Thuanus, Men well versed in the Records of the Church, and the Laws of the Emperors, were of Opinion, that Sword and Blood-shed, Banishment. and Attainders, rather encreased than cured the Disease. That all other Things indeed were fubject to the Will and Pleafure of Kings, but Religion was the only Thing that could not be controuled: for this was to be infused by the Grace of God, and Persecution would contribute nothing to it. That the best Means to be used, were good Doctrine and wholesome Instruction; for the Minds of Men are to be won by Perfuafion, and not by Compulsion, Conscience being a Thing that will turn to Rage, if Violence be offered; and is a Sore that will not bear to be rubbed: and this is what most of the Kings of Europe had too of ten experienced. It was to this that the Wars of the last Century in Germany, Spain, and France owe their Birth; this occasioned the Murder of fo many Princes, Kingdoms subverted, Provinces laid waste, and Cities plundered and spoiled, because they had claimed to themselves a Power over Men's Consciences. What great and dreadful Destruction did Francis the Second, Charles the Ninth, and Henry the Third bring upon themselves and their Kingdoms? What Devastation did Germany fuffer

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fuffer by lamentable and cruel Wars, when Liberty of Conscience was taken away? Spain had fallen into the same Danger, if Ferdinand, who fucceeded Charles the fifth, had not by a folemn Edict granted to the Sectaries the free Exercife of their Religion; for he found that all his Brother's Wars, in which he himfelf commanded, had very bad Success in the Affairs of Religion. But by granting this Indulgence, he and his Dominions enjoyed a profound Peace Who does not know that and Tranquillity. Margaret of Parma preserved the Low Countries from a total Revolt, to which they were very much inclined, by allowing them Liberty of Conscience ? and, on the other hand, that Alva loft them by his furious and rigorous Severity. Laftly, not to mention all the Examples, which might be produced, and which indeed are very numerous, let the King only remember what Milery befel his own good Father. He was a Prince of the greatest Goodness and Mercy; and no one ever governed more juftly, more modeftly, or (which prevails most with the People) more frugally: but when he yielded to the Perfuafions of the Clergy, and thereupon persecuted the Puritans, he turned their Patience into Rage; for they were a bold and outragious Sett of Men, who, if they asked any thing with Humility and Submission, and did not obtain it, would extort it by Force and Arms. Let him only confider his own Times. Ever fince the All of Uniformity passed against the Sectaries, he has ftrugled with annual, nay almost monthly Conspiracies; nor will their Animosity and Hatred cease, till the King has softned and conquered them by his Royal Indulgence;

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which as it would be a free Gift, and proceed only from his Majesty's own Goodness, there is no room to doubt but a Favour granted, in fo extraordinary a manner, would oblige them above Measure. That it is derogating from the King's Honour to perform the part of an Executioner: Nero was the first who defiled his Hands with human Blood, spilt for Religion; that the best Emperors, who were most addicted to Heathenish Superstition, detested to inslict Punishment upon Christians; neither was it confiftent with the innate Goodness of his Majesty's Temper and Mercy, to vex and torment his Subjects with unnecessary Penalties. Laftly, that he always declared, as his own Maxim, that Force was the worst Remedy in the World for preserving the Peace of the Church; that Divisions were to be healed by friendly Conferences, and not by Wars and Attainders. Therefore he ought to follow the Bent of his own natural Disposition, and not suffer himself to be biaffed by the wicked Malice of other Men. The King yielded to these and such like Arguments, and, on the fifteenth Day of March, granted, by Proclamation, a free Exercise of Religion. And perhaps it had not been unfeafonable at that time, if the Factious had not made the King's Clemency a Cloak for their wicked Practices: for the most strenuous Defenders of the Church always yielded to the Necessity of the Times, because Remedies, that are of great Validity in Peace, may prove to have no Effect in War. While all things were quiet abroad, it was no difficult matter to curb the Schismaticks by wholesome Severities; but as he defigned to carry on a great War, he thought 11

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it was more adviseable to sooth Mens Minds as well as he could.

But the Factious turned a thing which was not ill-concerted at that time, to a different Purpose; for thereupon two very great Missortunes befel the King. First, a Difference between him and his Parliament, which had almost come to a Civil War; and, secondly, an Army of Rebels were lifted, and always in a readiness for Rebellion. Thus from that unhappy Day the Peace of the Kingdom was deftroyed, nor did the face of Affairs change, which feemed to threaten nothing but Ruin, till they had broke out almost into an Insurrection. The Parliament was rufled, nor were they now follicitous for the Wellfare of the Church and Religion, as formerly they had been, but least fomething worse should happen to themselves. All their Care was employed in preserving their own Prerogative; they did not deny that the King could grant an Indulgence, but faid, that it ought not to have been done without the Consent of the Parliament. His Majesty, on the other hand, alledged, that the Kings of England, always had the supreme Power in Ecclesiastical Affairs, which never was disputed before, and therefore he would for ever maintain his just Right. That he would not take upon him to rescind those Statutes by which Meum and Tuum were to be determined; nor had he abrogated this Law, whose Penalties he had only suspended for a Time, being forced by the Necessity of the War (of which he was the sole Judge) to contrive some means whereby he might mollify the Minds of the Factious; and therefore he would leave it to the Parliament to consolt about this Affair, as they thought Dd 2

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I ords Fourn. Marc. 8. 1673.

Com. Fourn. Feb. 27. 1673. thouth fit. The Parliament, on the contrary, very warmly infifted, that the Kings of England could not dispence with Law for a Moment; that his Ancestors had never arrogated to themfelves fuch a Prorogative; that if this were allowed, The supreme Government of the Kingdom, which confifted in making Laws, and that belonged to the Parliament only, would be fubverted. The King yielding to their Obstinacy, revoked Liberty of Conscience; and did, in the presence of his Cabinet Council, tear off the Great Seal, which had been affixed to it; and fent his Prime Minister to the House of Lords to acquaint them with what he had done, that they might enter it into their Journals, as a perpetual Remembrance thereof. The whole Affair being now left to the Confideration of the Parliament, they began to make a new Law (which they called an Act of Ease or Indulgence,) by which all former Laws made against the Schismaticks, were to be repealed. The Substance of which was, that all Diffenting Protestants, who would subscribe to the Articles of Faith of the Church of England only, those of Church Discipline being omitted, should have Liberty to exercise their Religion after their own Way; and that they should be exempted from the Penalty of those Fines, whereby they were obliged to refort to their own Parish Church. That theassent also, which the Clergy were to give to the Ad of Unformity, and the Abjuration of the folemn league and Covenant, were to be taken off for ever: and that with Impunity they should have Liberty to perform divine Worship according to their own Rites, and at the Quarter Sessions a Place should be affigued, where they were to affemble. ly

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The Lords agreed to the Bill in general which had been fent up to them by the Commons, but could not come to a Resolution about one Particular, viz. whether the Indulgence, which at the third Reading of the Bill they had come into, should be in the Breast of the King, or the Justices of the Peace: and this occasioned warm Debates on both Sides, until the prudent Moderation of Sheldon, which was more than they defired, (and of which I have taken notice before,) that they should only acknowledge that the War, which was carried on by the Parliament against King Charles the First, was unlawful, knocked all in the Head. The King feeing that the Parliament were very much incenfed at this, prorogued them for a Year. In the mean time, the Factious successfully obtained what they had so often attempted before to no Purpole; which was thus accomplished. A general Affembly of the Factious being called, the King, by his royal Authority, granted to every one of them fuch a Place to meet in, as they had chosen: thus the Sectaries had an Opportunity of fixing their Stations thro out the whole Kingdom. Forty or fifty Conventicles were fet up in every County, in each of which they took an Account of their Numbers, which they transmitted to the general Council at London, who thereupon had a Liberty with Impunity to protect each of their own Sect; nor did their Cale want Men who were diligent to promote its Interest. Their Numbers encreased daily, for the Populace are naturally given to change; and upon this they proceed to number their own Parties, Thus under the Colour of Religion, Soldiers were

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were listed every where, and a Captain appointed to every Troop, and their proper Posts assigned them, that they should be always in Readiness to rise in Rebellion upon the first Opportunity, nor was any one of them suffered to go unarmed; and every Thing was ready for a Rupture. Thus by the strict and secret Agreement, which the Sectaries had made between themselves, Sedition was from that time

daily fomented against the Kingdom.

The last of the deadly Sins was committed against the Parliament, (which the People of England had always laid nearest their Heart,) in the Year 1673. For a new Custom, which began from the Year 1640, continued to this Day; that when any Members died, the Parliament gave notice thereof to the Lord Chancellor, who thereupon iffued out new Writs for chufing other Members to fupply the Places of those that were deceased. But, on the contrary, Shaftsbury, who was then Lord High Chancellor of England, before any notice could be given to the Parliament of the demise of any of their Members, and before the time appointed for their Meeting, would, of his own accord, iffue out Writs to some of the small Burroughs, that by a private and clandestine Election, his own Creatures might have Seats in the House of Commons. On the first Day of the Seffions many new Faces appeared in Parliament; which occasioned much whispering, the old Members asking one another, who those Strangers were, and from whence they came. When the Matter was discovered, they were expelled the House, and the Parliament was very much incensed against the Chancellor.

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He cast the Fault (if there was any) upon the King; but affirmed, that what had been done was nothing more than afferting his Maiefty's Right, which was derived from the earlieft Antiquity: nor had there any Innovation been made therein, till the Time of the Rebel-Parliament. That therefore the King did only renew the ancient Prerogative of all his Ancestors, which not long fince had been taken away by open Rebellion; and if he did not do this speedily, before it came to be established by long Cuftom, he would furrender one of the most valuable Jewels of the Crown, with the Mark of Indolence and Neglect. That if the Commons would fearch their Journals, they would find that there was no Instance of this new Custom before the Rebellion. The Journals were examined, and Shaftsbury's Affertion appeared to be true. However, the Parliament infifted upon the Preservation of their new Privilege, and faid, that the King's Prerogative in this Case was of no weight; but if it were lodged in their Hands, the Kingdom would reap the Benefit of it, for then other Chancellors could not make clandeftine Elections, as the prefent one had done. The King was not very much displeased at this Proceeding of the Parliament, for he began to suspect the Sincerity of all the Chancellor's Advice, and had some Thoughts of removing him. And, indeed, the Dispute about this Matter was not grounded fo much upon the Account of Right, as of Parties. The Chancellor had a great Sway in his own County, (Dorset) by reason of the great Station he was in, especially among the Sectaries, by whole Interest he endeavoured

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deavoured to have fuch Members chosen at every Election, as were of his own Kidney. Strangeways, a Man of an ancient and illustrious Family, of great Loyalty, and a large Estate, always opposed him. This Gentleman had ferved under King Charles the First, in all the Civil Wars, and had merited great Esteem by his Gallantry. He did, and fuffered as much for the King as a brave Man could do. He was always couragious in discharging his Duty, stedfast and honest; a strenuous and undaunted Defender of the royal Caufe, when it was expired: and his affable and courteous Behaviour made him so very popular, that no Man had more Interest in the County, for he could fet up what Candidates he pleafed, and carry almost every Election. When the Chancellor would not venture openly to oppole this great Man, he strove to over-reach him by this Artifice. About that time four Members, who had been chosen for the County of Dorset, being dead, he clandestinely filled their Seats with four of his own Party: but Strangeways was fo enraged at this, that knowing his Interest in the House of Commons to be as great as among his Country-men, he complained to the Parliament, and the whole House were now incensed against the Chancellor, though some of the Members only had been his Enemies before. He struggled for some time, but finding that he was hem'd in by 10 many Enemies, he thought the most prudent Method he could take, was to give way as well as he could. He knew that the Duke of Tork bore him a long and implacable Grudge; his Admistration had displeased that Prince, who n-

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who was grieved to fee him advanced to fuch great Power. The Chapcellor dreaded no Man's Indignation more than his, for he was fenfible that nothing could ever fatisfy him but the Defruction of his Enemies. His greatest Hopes were long placed in the Clemency of the King; but when he perceived that he withdrew from him, and that he was now stript of all Defence, he began to think of making the best Terms tor At last, finding that the Parliament attacked him sharply, and that they would grant no Supply to the King, till he was removed from all Offices, which done, they would not deny any thing to his Majesty; and understanding that the Parliament were preparing Articles of Impeachment against him, the Harbingers of impending Fate, and his Interest at Court being in a desperate Condition, he suddenly changed Sides, and went over to the Sectaries, joining his Complaints with theirs. First he inveighed against the Papists, and said, that the Protestant Religion would quickly be deftroyed, if some seasonable Interpolition did not prevent it. That the face of Affairs seemed to look favourable to Rome, but he would rather die than change his Religion. He therefore exhorted every one to rife up with him against the Adolaters, and said, that he very well knew that this would be a thing very dilpleasing to the Courtiers, and for that Reaion, did not doubt but he should be removed from all his Granduer. But he prefered a good Conscience before the Empire of the World: and howmuch foever the Victory might cost, Rome must be destroyed; (Carthage might now remain fafe for him,) and by these Speeches he so succeisfully gained the Hearts of the People, that they Еe presently

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presently adored, and embraced him, as if he had been the Father of his Country, or their Deliverer come down from Heaven. Crowds of noble Men presently flocked about him; and tho' he was but yesterday accused in the House of Commons, yet now, all of a fudden, no Man was more popular among them; some of the Clergy extolled him in their publick Writings, as the only Preferver of Religion, and faid, that he had performed a Work of no less Glory than Danger; promising that his Fame, like the Woman's in the Goffel, should endure from Generation to Generation. While this great Hurry continued, he procured two Acts of Parliament to pass, before he laid down the Chancellorship. One was against the Papists, whereby they were rendered uncapable of enjoying any Office, civil or military, except they would confent to fuch Articles, as were repugnant to their Principles, The other was a general Act of Indemnity, which indeed was more extensive than any that had ever been made, and by which he stood, Redus in Curia, (to use the Law Phrase) so that he could not be called to an Account for any Male-administration, or any Crime he had committed. In less than one Year he was stript of all his Power, for he was made Chancellor the 17th of November 1672, and was turned out on the 9th Day of the same Month 1673. Bridgeman obtained that Office after the Removal of the Earl of Clarendon, He was a Man strictly Loyal all his Life, an uncorrupt Judge, and one that perfectly understood Equity and Law, which he administred impar-During Cromwell's Time, the legal Jurifdiction of the Courts of Justice being taken away, he quitted the Bar; and tho' he did practife publickly

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publickly, yet he was one of the King's Counfel in private, and preferved a great many from the Iniquity of the Times. When Justice returned with the Restoration of the King, he was advanced from one Degree of Honour in the Law to another, till at last he was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; nor was he guilty of any Erfor, as far as I know, but once, being drawn afide by others, in relation to the Affairs of the Church. This modest Man being prevailed upon by the haughty, and yet flattering Brow of some of the Clergy, offended against the Rites of the Church; for they made use of Authority to accomplish what they called a Comprehension: in all other Respects he was a fincere Encourager, and Son of the Church. It happened at this time, that the Bankers were fummoned by their Creditors (whose Money had been shut up in the Exchequer) to appear at the King's-Bench, and pay the Money they had borrowed: the Bankers removed the Suit into Chancery, and if it was received there, that Court could grant an Injunction to ftop the Proceedings of inferior Courts, for that is a Privilege which the Court of Chancery has over all others. But Bridgeman being incenfed at fuch illegal Proceedings, dismissed so unjust a Suit, not without some Mark of Infamy. Shaftesbury complained of this bold Proceeding to the King, and faid, that it was a Reproach cast upon his Majesty, and upbraided him with shuting up the Exchequer; and if he had not done that, the Bankers would have been able to have made good their Payments. That therefore it was Our, and not Their Cause; and therefore his Majesty ought to protect them a little while, one Year only, and by that time the Exchequer would E e 2

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would refuse to grant the King such an equitable Request, he was not worthy to be intrusted with a Power in greatness next to the King's own; and for his part, if he were Lord Chancellor, he would indulge the Bankers, and allow them some time. Hereupon Bridgeman was gently removed, and the Seals were given to Shaftesbury. He presently performed his Promise, for he received the Bankers Suits, and granted Injunctions to stop the Proceedings of other Courts. But when Shaftesbury perceived that he should soon be removed from the Chancellorship, he set aside all

those Injunctions.

While he continued at the Head of his Miniftry, he publickly declared, that every thing went on in a smooth and even Road; and in his Speech to the Parliament, February 5th, 1672. he congratulated the Kingdom on Account of the King's great Goodness and Prudence; for while he carried on a War abroad, England enjoyed all the Plenty that Peace could produce. That by his mild Government his Majesty had secured the Hearts of all his Subjects, and had cultivated a. publick Tranquillity and Union among them; that there was a more than Conjugal Affection between the King and his Parliament, not to be separated by any Divorce; that all things were safe, and no Room left for Jealousies or Detraction; that our Religion, our Church, every Man's Right, the impartial Administration of Justice, the Dignity of Parliaments; and, indeed, every thing that contributes to make us happy, would be intirely secure in the King alone: that no honest English Man could wish for more, except it were that his Majesty's Reign might continue many

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many Years, and the Tripple Alliance between the King and his Parliament never broken.

But as foon as he was forbid the Court, he haftened to the City of London, and accompanied by his Followers, went every Day upon the Walks of the Enchange, as if he had turned Merchant, and fighing very heavily, faid, O my Countrymen; how desperate is the present State of England! The only thing now designed, is to set aside our Laws, and make every thing subject to the Will and Pleasure of Courtries. Papists and French Pensioners are a Consistential of this, who had all the Power in their own Hands; that he had opposed them for a long time, but in vain;

that it was a Crime to complain of these things at Court, or to look with concern; and therefore, for that Reason, he was ordered to withdraw from thence; that if they did not take care in Time, it would be too late to assist their Country. That they might easily perceive by what had been lately done, what Designs were on Foot: that, contrary to the Laws of Nations, the Tripple Alli-

ance was broke, for no other Reason than to join with the King of France, who was a Papist, and enter into a War against the Dutch, who were Protestants; a War, which was begun against them, who were at that Time our Confederates, before any Herald had proclaimed it. That indeed a Toleration of Religion was granted, not out of Compassion to the tender Conscience of Protestant

Dissenters, but to open a Way for Jesuits and Papish Priests to come into England. That the Force of all our Laws was taken away at the

Will of the King; for if he had Power to fuspend them for a Minute, he might continue that Suspension as long as he lived. That the Parlia-

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ment, upon this Account, carried their Refent ment very high; and the' the King struggled against it with more than usual Resolution, vet vielding at last to the Indignation of the Parlia. ment, he was forced to pretend to abrogate it. but the' the Indulgence, that had been granted to Protestants, was taken away, yet the Papisis are allowed to this Day, the free Liberty of exercifing their Religion. Besides, with what barbarous and unheard-of Injustice were his Subjects plundered of their Fortunes, by shuting up the Exchequer: and therefore, what regard to Property can be expected in that Kingdom, where fuch arbitrary Proceedings are allowed? Laftly, not only the private Rights of Subjects were violated, but the very Freedom of Parliament was invaded; for new Members, contrary to Law and Cuftom, were chosen to supply the Places of those deceased, without the Knowledge or Confent of Parliament, that by fuch a Breach, Courtiers and French Pensioners may be admitted into the House of Commons. That the Parliament therefore had shewed a more than common Resentment, to Those, in particular, who were known to be Men of the ffricteft Loyalty, fuch as Strangeways always was, a Man never suspected to incline to Faction:

This furnished Matter enough for Complaints; this struck all the People with a panick Fear, this occasioned as great Consusion and Out-cries in every Street, as if the City had been plundered. Thus, in a short time, the City not only withdrew from her Duty to the King, but set up, as it were, a new and different Form of Government. A numerous Assembly was chosen, which sate at a Tavern near the Exchange, and these were diffe-

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rently employed. The Bufiness of some of them was to keep thole steady, who were inclinable to Faction, by supplying them with Wine, and not suffering them to be fober; others dispersed Letters, crammed with Lies, throughout every County: and at laft, they all agreed, to cast all the past Counsels: and Actions of Shaftesbury, which he and his Party now to tharply condemned, upon fuch of the King's Ministers, as were in Power, when he was laid afide; especially upon the Duke of Tork, by whose Advice principally he was removed. Among these Schools and Nurseries of Sedition, the most notorious was at the King's-Head-Tavern, the Corner of Chancery-Lane in Fleet freet: Those who meet there had more Impudence than the rest, for the major part of them were Lawyers. who pretending to have a superior Knowledge in the Statutes of the Kingdom, made others more confident who had less Judgment; and they arrived to fuch a Degree of Impudence, that when they went abroad, they wore a Green Ribbon in their Hats, as a Badge of their Society. This school produced the chief Officer, who appeared in the Rebellion, that happened afterwards.

Scurrilous and infamous Libels were scattered in great Numbers among the Populace. Among these saucy Detractors, the most notorious was that vile Fellow Marvell: whose Life, from his south upwards, was one Scene of Wickedness. He was naturally so pert and impudent, that he took upon him to write Satires for the Faction, in which there was more Defamation than Wit. His Talent was in railing; in every thing else he had agrovling Genius. Being out of Favour with his Father, and expelled the University, he had less regard to his Conscience, than he had before

to his Reputation. He was a stroling, ragged, half starved Poetaster; beaten at every Tavern, and caned and kicked every Day for his fauci. nels. At last, by Milton's Interest, (to whom he was agreeable, because he had such another ill. natured Talent,) he was made one of the under Secretaries to Cromwell's Secretary Pleased with his Advancement, he published a Congratulary Poem in praise of that Tyrant; but when, for a long Time, he sate hatching a Panegerick, he brought torth a Satire against all Monarchs, legally established. He compared Cromwell to the Sun, and faid, that Kings were flow Bodies; flower than Saturn in their Revolutions, and darted more noxious Rays upon the Earth. That if every Monarch's Reign was to continue to the Platonick Age, not one of them would do any thing that was beneficial to the World. That it was aMaxim with them All, to make their Subjects Slaves; that, by their good Will, they would attack no Enemy but their own Country-men; that it is with much Reluctance they enter into a War with Foreigners, and because they are compelled to it, but voluntarily make War with their Subjects and never defift till they have it in their Power to treat them as conquered Slaves: nor do they fight against them only, but against God; for they are made drunk with the Sorceries of the Whore of Babylon, they fight for Antichriftagainst the Lamb, and serve the Whore of Rome. They not only deferted, but hindered the Work of the Lord, begun by his Saints in this Age, under the auspicious Conduct of Cromwell

But at the Restoration, this miserable Wretchrelapsing into his former Poverty, procured himself, for the sake of a Livelihood; to be chosen a

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Member for a small Burrough, in which his Father had been a Presbyterian Preacher in the Rebellion, and was very ferviceable to the Party. By ancient Custom, every Burrough was to allow each of their Representatives five Shillings Diem to bear their Expences: but this Cuftom had been discontinued for a long time, they despised so small a Stipend, which looked like Alms given to the Poor; however, he demanded it for his Subfiftence; and though he was fo poor and needy, yet he was very proud and haughty. He was an Enemy to the King's Affairs in all Parliaments; and one of the Cabal of fixty, a Remnant of the Rebellion, who had bound themselves by Oath from the beginning, to embarrass the King, and not to give their Votes for a Supply. But these Fellows could hever carry one Point in the House, for they were always treated with the utmost Scorn and Contempt; if they could do no good, they could do no hurt, for as foon as any one of them began to open his Mouth, he was hifled; and as often as our Poet spoke, he was cudgelled for it. For which Reason, having often undergone that fort of Discipline, he learned at last to hold his Tongue: but when he was out of the House, he vented his Spleen with great Bitternels, when he could do it with Impunity, and daily belched out his fcurrilous Libels against the King himself.

If the Fanaticks at any time wanted his Affiftance, he presently rushed out of his Cave, in the same Manner as a Gladiator, or a wild Beast, when they were to appear in the Am-

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phitheatre at old Rome. But this *Buffuarius never fought with more Fury than when he was near his own Grave, in a Book which he published a little before he died, which he called. An History of the Growth of Popery and Tyrannical Government in England. In this Libel. with a Shew of great Grief and Concern, he feemed to lay it much to Heart, that the Papifts had, for a long time, watched Night and Day to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom; and that they would have accomplished their Defign, had it not been prevented by the Interpolition of the Fanaticks. He began his Difcourse with the seven deadly Sins before-mentioned; by which, says be, it was next to a Miracle, that the Kingdom had not been ruined. He spoke to this Effect, That the Tripple Alliance was scandalously violated, contrary to the Laws of Nations; that the League entered into with France against the Dutch, was a Matter as full of Treachery as Danger. That the Dutch could not be charged with any Crime, for they had, with the strictest Faith, punctually observed and kept all the Articles of Peace, that even in striking the Flag they were more officious, than was required. That the least Cause for a War was diligently fought for, but none can be found; and yet a War was begun without the least Shadow of Pretence: and much more to the same purpose.

A sharp cunning Man truly, and a hopeful Advocate for his Friends! One, who defamed

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^{*} The Bustuarii were certain Fencers or Prize-fighters, who in ancient Times were hired to exert themselves, at the burying Place of any Person, or when the Corps was to be burned.

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the King, the States of the Kingdom, the Council, and all the great Officers of State, that he might extoll the Merits of his own Party. Thus he began his Speech with a bare-faced Lie, for whatever was done privately by other Ministers, Shaftesbury was the publick Author and Advifer of it. The Speeches which he made in Parliament were cried about the Streets, one on the fifth of February, and another on the 27th of October following which was just thirteen Days before he was removed from the Chancellorship, (viz. November 9th;) in which Speeches he most bitterly upbraided the whole Kingdom for not having destroyed Carthage. In another, he said, that the Dutch were perjured Alliance-breakers; that they had not only refused the Right of the Flag, but made what Interest they could in all the Courts of Europe to have it taken away. That they had an innate Hatred to the English, as well on account of Emulation, as by their Disposition and Temper; and that the War would never be ended but by the utter Deftruction of them or us. That the Safety of one depended upon the Ruin of the other; and that the War would last for ever, except we humbled the Dutch. Besides, as the King had undertaken it with the greatest Prudence, as the Parliament defired it with the greatest Promises, he exhorted them to bring it to a Conclusion by the same General, with which they had begun it: and if any one withdrew from it, before it was accomplished, he would be one of the greateft Traytors to his Country. In another, he faid, that the King hoped he should have met his Parliament that Day, with a Testimony of the Peace being ratified; which had been done, Ff2

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if the haughty, stubborn, unreasonable Enemy had not defignedly, and with the greatest Marks of Contempt, rejected the Offers which had That the King's Demands were fo been made. reasonable, that the very Embassadors, who were the Mediators of Peace, and Guarrantees of the Faith, voluntarily given on both Sides, openly declared, that their Mediation would have no Effect, if they did not accept the Terms that were proposed. The King defired nothing more for himself than the ancient Rights of his Ancestors in the British Seas, which they had constantly enjoyed from one Age to another; for if the Dominion of the Sea was to be deftroved, no Man could afterwards be King of Great-Britain. That the next thing his Majesty insisted upon was, that his Nephew, the Prince of Orange, should be restored to the Dignity which was derived to him from his Anceftors; and that the Lovestein Party, that republican Faction of Carthage, were the only Perfons who opposed it. And lastly, that the Rights of Trading, (especially to the East-Indies,) should have the same Force and Effect, as had been agreed to by them and us. But the Lovestein Faction opposed these equitable and moderate Articles with the greatest Contempt and Arrogance; a Faction, who from their very Nurles, imbibed fuch an everlasting Hatred to the English, that they were resolved to deliver it to Posterity, as the only Pledge of their Country. That they not only offered Libels to the Mediators of the Peace; stuffed with the most contumelious Language, that it would be a shame to publish them; but contended all the Offers of Peace with Disdain and Grimace. Yet after all all they fent a Minister into England, declaring they would willingly accept a Peace, upon the most unreasonable Terms that the King should propose. But their Enterprise was frustrated: for they saw that nothing but War was designed; and therefore they appealed from the King to the People in a quite different Tone, and with fuch Sauciness, that one would have thought they had been treating with them for a Peace, not with the King; and, indeed, it was not fo much concerning a War abroad, as to foment a Rebellion in England. Besides, all their Designs tended to one Point, that is, that if they could dispossess the English from being Lords of the Sea, then they would have the Dominion of the Ocean, or (which would be the same to them) the Empire of the whole World. And their Agreement with us in Religion, which was the Pretence for a Peace, would be no Security; for it has been found from the earliest of Time, that worldly Interest had been a Means to reconcile Differences in Religion; but no Proof could be brought that Religion had ever put an End to a Dispute, where Interest was the Point in Debate; and much more when Dominion was brought upon the Carpet. Laftly, that the Design of this War was not the Pursuit of Glory, of Riches, or for extending the Boundaries of Dominion, but it was undertaken for the Preservation of our Religion and Country. If we should be conquered, then from that time forward we must not look upon our felves as a free People, but as the Slaves of the Conqueror; while we are Masters of the Sea, our Fleet, (as it always has been) will be a Bulwark against the Enemy; but if we lose that, every Port, every Harbour will be made a Prifon. fon. If therefore we have any Love and Regard for our Country, our Liberty, and our Families, the War ought not to be deferred one Day; for if it was, we might endeavour to affift them, when perhaps it would be too late.

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See now the Modesty of our famous Advocate, Marvell! who, as he would have attributed the Destruction of the Kingdom to this one War with the Dutch, endeavoured with the same Breath to praise Shaftesbury, who was the only Adviser of it, and extoll'd him as the Deliverer of his Country. A most abominable Lie! but yet agreeable to the Modesty of the Man.

He afterwards proceeds to upbraid them in this Manner, for having thut up the Exchequer: that the Nation groaned under a very heavy Debt, two Millions Sterling, and upwards; that the Parliament had, by feveral Taxes, granted Money enough to discharge that Debt, but as if they look upon it to be a Crime to apply, what had been fo given, to its just and proper Use, at the same time, that they promifed to pay what was due at the Exchequer, they shut it up when it was full of the Fortunes of private Families, left perhaps the Money should be applied to that Holy War or Crusado, which they designed against the Dutch. That the Conspirators (for fo he called the Courtiers) carried on this Affair with Secrecy, left the Discovery of fuch a Piece of Villainy should diminish the greatness of its Enormity.

On a fudden therefore, (January 1st, 1671) a Proclamation was published, and an immense Sum of Money, which private Persons had lent to the Exchequer, was by open Thest taken from the Proprietors: innumerable Families were stript

of all their Fortunes by one publick Robbery, and the whole Kingdom being aftonished at such unparalleled Tyranny, despaired of their Right for ever. That there was no Action in Life for base, as to stop the Payment of Creditors, when there is Money to discharge them. That the King, who had fo lately received fuch large Supplies from the Parliament, should, by a folemn Proclamation, commit a noon-day Robbery upon the Fortunes of his Subjects, was a Piece of Villainy without Precedent. — But if this was a Piece of fuch Villainy, a noon-day Robbery, I would ask this Man, who was the Contriver of it? who the Adviser? who perfuaded the King to it? who put it in Execution? and laftly, who hindred the Expiation of these Crimes by making just Payments, the Neglect of which he casts upon the Conspirators, but the Earl of Shaftesbury?

The wretched Fellow proceeds thus: The Conspirators were of Opinion, that it was best to try how the publick Faith might be first violated at home, and then they might with more Confidence perform the same thing abroad; for to treat all Men alike, whether Countrymen or Enemies, feemed to carry fome Colour of Justice. Having therefore committed a Robbery at home, they thought proper to begin a pyratical War with the Dutch. They had religiously kept all the Articles of Peace inviolable, from the time it was concluded, and being conscious of their Sincerity, and confequently not fearing or apprehending any thing from the English, traded freely in the British Seas. Nevertheless, the Conspirators had formed a Design to surprise their Fleet near the Isle of Wight, in its Return

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from Spain and Asia; that herein they manifested themselves to be Bunglers, and Faith-breakers.

The Earl of Shaftesbury faid enough before concerning the Fidelity of the Dutch; but this wretched Poet bears such mortal Hatred to his own Country, that he excuses the Dutch in the most flattering Manner, and lays all their Craft and Subtilties upon the English. I confess, indeed. that we once broke our Faith, but it was done when the Faction were in power; nor did the King confent to it, till they had perfuaded him that the Dutch had violated theirs. And, indeed, we never wanted a fufficient Cause for Complaint, because they never performed any one Article they agreed to. What Modesty therefore can this Man have, who bawls out, and fays, that the War was begun without any Cause, when those very Men, whom he adores as the Preservers of their Country, were the Persons who promoted it? Nor, indeed, was it unjust in it felf, tho' dishonourably begun by them; and when they were put out of Play, it was honourably carried on and ended, for they agreed to all the Terms of Peace, which the King had approved, and paid three hundred thousand Pounds towards the Expences of the War.

Lastly, he attacks the Liberty of Conscience which the King had granted, by which, says he, the ancient Wickedness of the Giants was renewed; and that our Religion, which had been guarded by so many Laws, was now lest naked and exposed to her Enemies; that the Papists and Sectaries had thereby a Power given them to besiege the Church of England, which cost us so dear, on every Side; that not only the

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Thurch, but the Constitution of the Kingdom was subverted; for by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, no Man could difannul what had been ratified by Parliament; and if the King should do this, he would be a Parricide to his Country. That this therefore was the most confummate Impudence in the Conspirators, such as the Memory of Man cannot trace. But now they had a mind to try, by this one Example, whether the People of England would allow their Kings to have fo great an Authority over the Laws; for if they would concede to this, there would be no Occasion for Parliaments, who alone have the Right of making Laws. That the Confpirators Aim was to order the Matter fo, that the Parliament should not give a Check to the Liberty, which the King granted by his own Power; but that his Will and Pleasure should have the Force and Efficacy of a Law.

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Marvell certainly was the best Judge, whether the Conspirators intended to introduce Tyranny; for if he was not their Secretary, yet he was admitted to all their feditious Confultations, on Account of the old Friendship between them, and therefore the most proper Person to be a Witness against his Friends and Masters. we shall see by the Event, at what Mark they took their Aim; for they railed an Army of Rebels prefently, who, when Opportunity should offer, were to rescue their Rights and Liberties from the Power of Tyranny: and it is well known, that they afterwards attempted to do this, but failed of Success. But see the ungovernable Prefumption of these Fellows! they implant the Fear of Tyranny in the Minds of the People, that they themselves may bring Gg

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every thing into Anarchy and Confusion. But the Falsehood of this drunken Buffoon exceeded all others, for he now sharply charged it as a Matter of great Villainy, what in all his Writings he had before affirmed, with the greatest Bitterness, every Man ought to claim by human and divine Right. He was a Principal in claiming Liberty of Conscience for the Fanaticks; and when the King had granted it, he called this Compliance the Tyranny of Nero. on purpose to work the People into an Hatred and ill Opinion of his Majesty's Government, I will trace the Matter back a little, because it was from hence that the Conspiracy of the Fanaticks took Birth, which afterwards grew up to an open Rebellion by Treachery, and Deceipt, Lies, and the most subtile Contrivances.

About the Year 1667, when England was reduced to a very low State by Pettilence, Fire, and Sword, the Fanaticks endeavoured, according to their old Cuftom, to involve their Country in new Sedition: and in order to effect this, they disposed many Libels among the Populace, wherein they demanded an unlimitted Liberty for their schismatical Fury. They said, that all the Laws, relating to Ecclesiastical Matters, were in themselves wicked and unjust; that by the Law of Nature, every Man had a Right to the free Exercise of his Religion, and that the great God of Heaven would not suffer the great Power which Kings usurped over the Consciences of Men, where he himself had the sole Domi-Besides, they threatened the King with their Faction being very numerous, faying, that the Puritans were a People not fo weak or inactive, but that they could and would defend and d

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and maintain their Liberties in religious Matters from all Tyranny; that they once did, and not long fince, by their own Strength, throw off the heavy Yoke, and therefore the King ought to take care, and not rashly provoke so many brave Men. The Principal among these were Sir Charles Worffley, and Doctor John Owen. Worffley had been one of Cromwell's Privy Counfellors, and a great Sycophant, and was one of those who were for placing the Crown upon Oliver's But when the King was restored, he voluntarily quitted all publick Affairs; and though he might have been admitted into the King's Council, yet he disdained to serve, nay, even to obey his lawful Sovereign, though he had not only fubmitted to, but also embraced the Slavery of the Tyrant, Cromwell. For he was of the Sect of the Independents, who would not allow any one Man (Cromwell only excepted) to have a fupreme Authority in Civil or Ecclefiaftical Affairs, but faid all Power was lodged in the People: that Appeals were to be made from the Magistrates to Them; that their Power and Authority was superior to that of Kings, which was given by them, and that they ought therefore to be their Lords and Masters, who could depose them, whenever they thought fit. That the Church does not acknowledge the Priests to have any Power; that there is no Virtue or Efficacy in facred Orders; no Right of Succession; but every Man had a power of chufing not only his own Minister, but (I know not what fort of) a Chaplain for himself. Is it therefore to be wondered at, that Men who will not submit to be under any Government, should also refuse to be under the Gg2 Restraint

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Restraint of any Laws? When therefore the then present State of Affairs seemed to sicken under its great Hardships, they flocked together from all Parts, hoping that they should be able to extort by Violence the Restitution of their ancient Liberty, while the Strength of the Government was weak and feeble: which being obtained, they would not then fear to encounter with an Enemy, whom so many Missortunes had disabled. This they did afterwards, as I shall shew, when (with God's Permission) I come to speak of Oates's Plot, by which they attacked the Government with all their Force. In the mean while, at the same time that Worfley published his Libel, John Owen also published another, which he called An Apology for Liberty of Con-Science; in which having undertaken to patronize his own Party, he did not blush to extoll the Independents, as Men of the strictest Loyalty to the King, and, according to his modest way, to clear his Brethren from the Charge, which was laid at their Door, though he himself was Imeared with the Blood of King Charles the First. But though his Scribbling be harsh and filthy, without Judgment, and carries no weight with it; though he takes an unfufferable Licence of Lying, yet still it is agreeable to the Taste of the People. For if something be written, no. matter whether well, or ill, true, or falle; yet they think that to be sufficient to support their Caufe. He was, from his Youth, not only an indefatigable Promoter of Rebellion, but a strenuous Advocate for it, the bitterest Enemy to the Royal Family among all the Parricides: he not only exerted himself in advising the Perpetration of that execrable Deed, but praised the

the Commission of such an abominable Fact, in a Sermon which he preached before the Regicides. He admonished and commanded them, as the Prophet of God, to perfect the Work they had begun with the Father, under divine Influence, in destroying his Children; for it would be a thing acceptable to God, not only to abolish the Government of the Family of Stuart, but not to suffer one of them to have any Dominion in England for the Future. But I have no Inclination to say more of this notorious Rebel at present, since I may, perhaps, soon write

the History of this wicked Man.

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Against these Encroachments of the King's Enemies, I, among others, become a Voluntier, the' too young, to handle Affairs of fuch great Moment. I shewed them, that it was one thing for the King to grant Liberty of Conscience to his Subjects, through his own Tenderness, and another to demand it as a Right due to them. For if Kings can legally grant fuch a Liberty, yet it would be a very dangerous thing to encourage feveral Religions in the same Kingdom. That one would be at War with another, and every one be Enemies to the rest, and all of them to the Church established by Law. That many Religions gave occasion for Civil Wars; and it has been experienced in all Ages, that Differences in religious Affairs were never composed, but by Blood. That there scarce has been a Civil War in the Christian World, which was not begun under a Colour of Religion. That they, who engaged in fuch Wars, were more inveterate and outragious, than if Civil Interest had been the Occasion of their Quarrel; for every one's own Religion is dearest to him, and he

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fets a greater Value upon his Church, or other Place of Worship, than he does upon his Habitation: and therefore will fight with greater Zeal for that which he efteems most; and religious Wars have always been the most Bloody. If we cast an Eye upon the several Nations of Europe, we shall fee that in the latter Ages. they have been infested with fatal Wars; and that Differences in Religion have been the only Capfe of them; and that those very Wars never ended but in the Subversion of the State. or the Reduction of the Rebellion. If we look upon France alone, how many Lives have fell a Sacrifice to the Rashness and Cruelty of the Calvinifis, in the Reigns of Henry the Second. Francis the Second, Charles the Ninth, Henry the Third, Henry the Fourth, and Lewis the Thirteenth! under a Pretence of prefenting an humble Petition to Francis the Second, who was then a Minor, they plotted against the Life of that King. They traiterously assaulted Charles the Ninth at Meldun; and if the Switzers, using both Courage and Stratagem, had not furrounded him even to a Miracle, when he was in the midst of the Traytors Spears, they would have accomplished their premeditated Villainy; and afterwards they broke out into open War, and fought till the Strength of France was loft in many Battles, which occasioned Deluges of Blood. In the Reign of Henry the Third, the Nobility excited that Sect to Rebellion, for they had not Strength enough to carry it on without their Affiftance. As often as the great Men of the Kingdom were inclined to an Infurrection, they always found the Sectaries ready to take up Arms; and although they were almost cut in Pieces in many many Battles, yet the Hydra sprung forth again, and the War was renewed with greater Sharpness. Henry the Fourth, by granting much to that Faction, increased their haughty Spirits, and by heaping so many Favours upon them, he was suspected by his own Popill Subjects to be a Calvinist in his Heart: and under the Colour and Pretence of that they entered into the wicked League. Thus while he favoured both Parties. he obliged neither; but while he stood between both, each of them was his Enemy. Though they fuccoured Henry of Navarre in claiming the Crown, yet when he embraced the Roman Faith, they would then help Henry as a Calvinift, but not as a King. If he indulged them in any thing, they looked upon it as their proper Right; and they abused the Edict of Nants, in making it a Pretence for War. And this also was the Occasion of War against his Son Lewis the Thirteenth, and they did not lay down their Arms, till Rochell was taken, and then being stript of all their Forces, they submitted to the King's Power.

Besides, they who demand Liberty of Conscience from Kings, as a Right that belongs to them, endeavour to overthrow the present established Constitution, and substitute their own in its Place. For as every Man thinks that his own Religion is purer than all the rest, then, by the same Impulse of Conscience, that he is commanded to desire the free Exercise of it, he is obliged to procure the Propagation thereof throughout the whole World, as much as in him lies: and therefore he will not desist from such an Endeavour, till his own Religion be advanced to the Heighth. This, and

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much more to the same Purpose, I declared concerning the Right, which Kings have over Men's Consciences: but though they have such a Right, yet they may recede from it when they will. And we have many Instances of this in History, but we seldom find that it has been done by a prudent Prince, except the Force of War compelled him to it, and when the Danger was over, he then recalled it. The Dutch War therefore being ended, they claimed a Liberty of Conscience too late, for the King had nothing to

fear from any Enemy.

But as to the Right, which Subjects claim in Matters of Religion, exempted from the Power of the King, I declared, that if this was allowed, it would subvert all the Right of Government; for nothing can contribute more to its Establishment, or Destruction, than Religion. If Peace, Sincerity, Moderation, Modesty, Meeknels, and Submiffion to higher Powers for Conscience sake, are the Touch-stones of Religion, then it is the great Interest of every King to encourage fuch Principles in his Subjects: but if Enthusiastick Madness, if Superstition, and a corrupted and depraved Credulity, if Moroleness, Hard heartedness, Cruelty, or a Suspicion that God will do any Injustice, are couched under the Word Religion: in short, if Religion be fuch, as by too long Experience we have found theirs to be, then to allow fuch Principles to be broached, is opening a Door to let in all Manner of Evils. For if the Liberty, that is defired, should be universal, and not circumscribed by any Bounds, then there would be another Power erected in the Kingdom, which would always emulate and clash with the King's Power. For,

For, are Kings God's Vicegerents? What is there upon Earth that acts in God's Stead by a more unerring Rule than Conscience? Have they a Power to determine what is Right, and what is Wrong? Yet fure the Judgment of Conscience is of much and ancienter Date, and the highest Tribunal under God. Can they make Laws to compell Men to act honeftly? can conduce more to establish Virtue, and make Men keep their Promite, than Conscience? Cah they inflict Pains and Penalties upon Criminals? What is more grievous than a wounded Conscience? Are Kings subject to God alone? Conscience submits to no other Soveraign than God. Nay truly, Conscience is an Empress who will govern not only with equal, but allo with fuperior Power to Kings: for they take Cognizance of the outward Actions of Men, but the has Power and Jurisdiction over the hidden Thought's of the Soul, which will not be under Subjection to human Power. Hence, as often as Men are inclined to rebel against their Soveraign, they lift themselves under the Banner of Conscience, and follow her as their Leader. At her Nod, and by her Advice, all the Rage and Fury of the People are turned into Religion; all Things facred are profaned by Fanatick Madness, and hurries rashly, where his Conscience calls him. Are they King-killers? do they murder the Nobility? do they tear in Pieces the Peace of the Church? are they guilty of Perjury? Why, truly, Conscience commanded them to do these things. In fhort, whatever they would have, and wish to be done, they account it to be janctified and confirmed by her command. It therefore an absolute Liberty of Conscience (as Hh

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they call it) be required, it is evident that Kings can have no Power, for every Man would then be a King to himself. Kings have a Power over Men, but every Man's Conscience is the Man himself, therefore the Man, and the Conscience of the Man are the same thing: if therefore Kings have no Power over the one, he cannot

have any over the other.

When the Right to universal Liberty of Conscience has been taken away, it should afterwards be demanded upon certain Terms; and therefore Conscience alone is not to be set in Opposition to the command of Princes, but an antecedent Law ought to be produced, which contains something in it contrary to those commands: and in this Cafe the Law of God only can be of any Validity. Let the Sectaries therefore produce any Law out of the Holy Bible, by which they are inhibited to pay Obedience to the established Ordinances of the Church of England. If they cannot do this, then they are obliged to obey, and their fo-much boafted Liberty of Conscience falls to the Ground: so that the only thing in Dispute is, whether the Church of England enjoyns the Performance of any thing, that is forbidden by God. The Controverfy begun by them, is about some few Ceremonies used in our Manner of Worthip; as whether it is lawful to use the Sign of the Cross in Baptism; or to wear a Surplice in performing divine Service; or to receive the Sacrament, kneeling; and fuch like. Now if thefe are Trifles, yet even (in Calvin's Opinion) they are tolerable; neither are they any where forbidden in Holy Writ, and therefore subject to human Laws. And though, perhaps, they may not be so plea1g8

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fing to nice Persons, yet they are not of such great Moment, as to supercede the Peace and Authority of the Church: and, indeed, it ought to be some very great Matter, that should occasion a Separation from her, as Optatus said formerly to the Donatifts, who declared they would die sooner than return into the Bosom of the Church. He spoke thus: It is faid to no Man, deny God; it is faid to no Man, burn your Bible; it is said to no Man, offer Frankincense, or pull down your Churches; for such things usually produce Martyrdoms. And St. Austin, speaking against the same Sect, says to Fanuarius, That which is not contrary to the Catholick Faith, nor to Morality, is to be taken indifferently, and to be observed for the sake of the People among whom we This was always a Maxim among all Christians, that small Matters were not sufficient to justify Debates and Schiffins: and that it is a Duty incumbent upon us to obey what is commanded, except fuch command be apparently wicked. By this one Maxim, the Church and the Kingdom has always stood; and if that be taken away, Government can have no Right and Power; for it confifts in having those alone. Belides, the Reasons they give in detence of their Schism, are only a Colour and Pretence for War: and as for their great Proposition, viz. That nothing is lawful in divine Worship, but what God himself has commanded, it is not only light and trivial, but false in its self. For God has ordained nothing, concerning Chriflian Worship, but the two Sacraments; and all other things are left to the Discretion of But if that Proposition had any the Church. weight in it, yet it makes as much against themfelves, Hh 2

felves, as it does against the Church; for they have a particular Manner of Worship as well as we. The same can also be proved concerning their other Pretences for Christian Liberty; for not offending weak Brethren; for not exercising Authority over wavering and scrupulous Conscience; but all these things, of how great Authority soever they are, must submit to the Power of Kings. There is no Right, under God, better than theirs; and therefore when that takes place, all those smaller Matters must vanish.

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I also declared, that these Fellows were neither honest nor modest in asking a Liberty of Conscience; for they had too lately been guilty of High-Treason, and for them to defire any Liberty whatever, favoured more of Rebellion, than Religion. It they are Men of the same Principles, which they formerly avowed, it is then evident, that they are the open Enemies of Monarchy; and if they refused to give new Pledges of their Allegiance, yet they ought at least to shew some Signs of their Sincerity. By fuch a modest Proceeding, perhaps, they might prevail upon the King's good Nature to grant them an Indulgence; but without this, they would affront his Majesty, in thinking him to childish and foolish, as to give his professed Enemies an Opportunity to form Cabals in order to carry on their Conspiracies; and this they would certainly do, if they were allowed to meet and join Company, as often as they pleased. For it was well known that their Preachers and Leaders were the old Enemies of the Royal Caule, and were mad with an ungovernable Defire of reducing Kings to Subjection. That under a Pretence ì

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Pretence of maintaining their Liberty, they would endeavour to effect and bring about a Revolution in the State, and would not give over, till by Force of Arms they had fnatched the King's Scepter out of his Hands, That Religion was not the Thing, but Power was; and the Question is, Whether Princes must be subject to them, or they to Princes? By their Tenets, the People are superior to Kings, and have a Power to call them to an account; so that by inverting the Nature of Things, Princes must be under Subjection to their Subjects, and Subjects have the Power of Dominion. For to what other Intent or Purpose does their great Maxim tend, viz. That the States of every Kingdom may not only use Force to suppress the Licentiousness of their Kings, but as they received such a Power and Authority from God bimself, that they would manifest themselves to be abandoned Wretches, and baje Betrayers of the Liberty of the People, which is committed to their care, unless they made use of such Power? And what do they mean by their other Maxim, viz. That the King is subject to the Law, and the Law to the People? Is it not that they may lawfully refift the King, when he oppreffes his Subjects, or destroys the Church of God? If he perfifts in doing these things, they may take up Arms against him, and when they have subdued him, inflict what Punishment upon him, they think fit. If the Victory falls to them, then they call their Success a Token of God's being well pleafed with it, and that whatever fuch Rebels act against their King, they fay that it was done by the Direction of Providence. These are the common Tenets of all Sectaries,

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Sectaries, particularly the Presbyterians and Independents, who, as they are very numerous, are the principal Persons, who arrogate to themfelves a Liberty of Conscience. That the most famous Teachers of both Sects, inculcated all these Notions in their Followers, not only by Preaching, but by the Books, which they published: if they denied it, we were ready to prove our Affertions from their own Writings, which was afterward effectually done, when they had not the Modesty to disown it. If they were to have the Liberty of their Meetings, then every Conventicle, where the People's Minds are poisoned with fuch Principles, would prove a rich Magazine of Rebellion. In fhort, I foretold what they afterwards brought about; though indeed no one, who knew them, had any occasion for the Spirit of Prophecy to predict what they would do; for where the Eagles resort, there Carrion will be found. Their Teachers strive in vain; for the more studious they are in endeavouring to conceal their Villainy, the more they discover it. When therefore they could not find among all their Faction, one Man of Integrity, Learning, or Sobriety, who would undertake to defend their Caufe, they fent this empty Fellow upon the Stage, who made a Jest and Laughing-ttock of all Things ferious; and at the same time they praised, they also despised the merry Andrew. I hus by mocking God, Religion, the Church, and the King, they eluded, according to their usual Modesty, the most important Points of the Controverfy, in a ridiculous and obscene Manner: and nothing ferious was written, except the Praise given to the King's Clemency for granting

granting Liberty of Conscience to the Diffenters. Upon this he joyfully congratulates the King and the Kingdom, and foretells that every thing will be prosperous to both; that by this political Act, the Government was established, no Pretence left for Divisions, and a Foundation was laid for an everlafting Peace. If any opposed it, they were Enemies not only to the Kingdom, but also to the King's Prerogative; for to shew his Clemency in granting Liberty of Conscience, was his principal Right. That Civil Laws were always in Force; but Ecclefiaftical must submit to the King's Pleasure; and he could not make better use of his Power. than by dispensing with the Laws, and indulging tender Consciences. This is the very Man. who at another time, that he might have brought the King under the Hatred and Envy of the People, cried out, that to grant such an Indulgence was to betray our Religion, to subvert the Conftitution of the Kingdom, to make a Jest of the Laws, and aim at Tyranny. To abuse all things, and make a Handle of them in order to ruin the Kingdom; to blow hot and cold with the same Breath, just as each of them may do the greatest Mischief; is the very Nature and Spirit of the Faction.

From this Source came that Torrent which overwhelmed the Kingdom; for by granting a Liberty of Conscience, one Ruin tumbled headlong upon another. First, as the Dignity of Government was rendred weak and seeble by yielding to rebellious Subjects, so it encouraged them to proceed in their Rebellion; for they did not acknowledge the Toleration to be granted on account of the Love and good Will which

the King had for them, but said it was extorted from him, and Fear made him comply: therefore they would not own themselves obliged for any Kindness they received from the King, for if he had not granted it in time, he should have found what they were willing and able to do. But as their Liberty was given, or rather restored, to them, they would not tamely submit to be made Slaves for the Future. By these Allurements (for the very Name or Shadow of Liberty is the sweetest thing in the World to the Vulgar) they deceived the Populace, and drew over so many to their Party, that the whole Kingdom groaned under them, and won-

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dred how it felf become Fanatical.

I thought it was a Duty incumbent upon me, to be the more diligent in laying open and explaining this Subject, because as it is a Matter of the greatest Concern in human Life, so it has not hitherto been clearly understood even by wife Men. Upon this Rock chiefly most Politians have split; who not being very sollicitous about Religion, think it a Piece of Impertinence to trouble others about it; for, fay these Men, it has always been usual for the People to please themselves with their own Fancies in Religion; leave them to their own Superftition, and they will be delighted, like Children, with their own play-things, and be quiet: but if you offer to diftrub them, you may with more fafety provoke a Nest of Wasps. That Civil Wars frequently happen, by not indulging the Weakness of the common People; if you will let them alone, they will remain quiet; but Superstition, when disturbed, breaks forth into Madness. That Religion is to be propagated eot

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gated by Instruction, and not by Force; for if you use the latter, it will extort an outward Shew of Piety, but it will produce no other Fruit than Atheism, and an Aversion to all Religion; for Men never relish Compulsion. These Topicks have been uled as popular Arguments, not only among Historians of the greatest Fame, but also by Men of indifferent Reputation, and by some, who, perhaps, were little addicted to Religion, as well as by others who were very And the great Thuanus, the Father of modern History, was very well pleased with them, who was a Man of fuch Candor, that he has recommended Moderation in religious Affairs, in almost every Page of his Writings. But this otherwise discerning Man did not observe, that it was one thing to force People to embrace a Religion, and another either to defend it, or repel it with Force. I contels no Compulsion ought to be used; for if Religion be not voluntary, it is nothing: but if any new Religion be brought into a Prince's Country, and he be difpleafed with it, he then may drive it out by Force and Arms. If it be fincere, let it make its way, unarmed, as the Christian Faith did in the first Ages; but if it uses Violence, it will be open Rebellion: therefore, if Religion be ingenuous, yet no Danger can ensue from it, howsoever oppressed; but if it be not, then it should be repelled as an Enemy. But this has been the Crime of all Sects, though they are forbidden, yet they will maintain themselves by Arms in Opposition to the King's Commands; and therefore in fubduing them, no Violence is offered to Religion, but Force is only opposed against Force. Religion is not the thing in Dis-

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spute, the Kingdom must be defended against an hostile Invasion. Let them think as they please, but let them not enslame another's Territories; if they make fuch an Attempt, they deferve to be punished for their Presumption If one King should invade another Man's Country, that he may impose his Religion upon them, when they are subdued; this indeed would be a Compulsion by Force, and no way (in my Opinion) justifiable : but to defend a Religion, which the Kingdom has received, and is established by Law, against a new Religion, cannot be called a Compulsion upon others to embrace my Religion, but to delend it against the Violence offered to it. And this has been the Occasion of War in every Kingdom, between the Prince and the Innovators of Religion. These were the first Aggreffors; and when Princes would drive them out of their Territories by Force, they did not thereby offer any Violence to their Religion, but prevented them from offering Force to their own. This ought to be the first and chief Ground of a War for Religion, not to propagate my Religion by Force and Arms, but to prevent the Progreis of any other.

Another Reason is, when penal Laws are enacted by the Authority of the Government, for the Support of the Church, against stubborn Offenders. I confess, that when Christianity was in its Insancy, it did not want such Power, for Men were invited into the Bosom of the Church upon no other Motive than a sincere Love of Religion; and it was Punishment enough for any Man at that time to be expelled out of a Society, which he thought could alone make Life happy, and to be cast upon the Borders of Hell:

So that when Christianity first set out, Excommunication was a Punishment sufficient to answer the Discipline of the Church. For what could affect the Minds of Mankind with greater Terror, than the Dread of everlafting Torments, which were immediately to enfue, and which they believed would certainly be the Confequence of Excommunication. But afterwards, when Kings and Emperors came into the Bosom of the Church, and heaped many Privileges upon her, the Wicked, as well as the Godly, followed fuch Leaders; and the former feemed to have the greater Zeal, not because they followed the Church, but the Court; reverencing the Emperors, and not Christ. Hence Princes had a new Office, viz. to take care that the Church should not be wounded upon their Account. Leaving therefore to the Church its own Jurisdiction over those who were real Christians, they were pleased to drive out those with the temporal Sword, whom the Church could not come at with the Spiritual. For though Reprobates did not regard her Sentence, yet as long as they professed themselves to be Christians, (and gave as much Offence as if they were really fo,) the Emperor took Cognizance of them; and whom the Church cast out, he removed from him, which she could not do, and punished them as he thought fit, not as Christians, but as contumacious Subjects, This Use of penal Laws in religious Matters, has been in Force from the time of Constantine; which always followed, but never preceded the Sentence of Excommunication. This gave Birth to that great Bulk of imperial Laws concerning Ecclefiaftical Affairs; hence arose the CODES of the Emperors, Theodosius and Justinian; hence the Basilica, or Royal Edicts in the East, and the Capitularia, or Statutes in the West. And by this alone the Emperors defended the Church; they did not enact particular Laws for her only, but what she made, they confirmed with the Addition of Penalties to be inflicted upon the

Transgreffors.

The Reader, I hope, will forgive the extraordinary Length of this Difgression, for the Remembrance of our late Misery makes me say more than otherwise I should have done, and to bewail our Mistortunes. The dreadful Storm is before my Eyes, in which we faw our Country almost swallowed up. I seem to view all the Dangers of a Shipwreck, to be now dashed against the Rocks, and presently to be sucked in by the Waves; to be toffed from one Danger to another; but at length, when all Hopes of Safety were laid afide, to be brought fafe by a Miracle into Port. We were so near the Mouth of Ruin, that we wonder we were not swallowed up, and we cannot, without Horror, look back upon the Greatness of the Danger. But whatever Misfortunes and Hardships we suffered, they all proceeded from this unhappy Piece of Politicks. The Enemies of the Kingdom had spent twelve Years in preparing the Machine, before they could prevail to have it received within our Walls; but when they had done this, thinking they had now perfected their Work, they proceeded to attempt every thing; and drawing their Forces together, broke forth into a Civil War. For on the same Day that Liberty of Conscience was granted to the Dissenters, they proclaimed (what they call) the Popish War: and under the Colour of that pretended Fear and

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beg ihe Kin for and Hatred to Popery, they formed their Plots against the State, and chiefly against the Church. But when that was blown over, they daily filled the Minds of the credulous People with new Fears; and for fix Years successively, terrified with the News of a Popish Invasion, till at length all their Villainy appeared in Oates's Conspiracy. But they had every thing in such readiness for a Civil War, that if that wicked Plot had not happened at that very Juncture, they had hatched another, which they would have produced to the People on the first Day that the Parliament were to meet; which shall be related at a proper Season, if God shall spare my Life. In the mean time, those very Perfons, who by their Treachery and Importunity extorted that Liberty, were the Men who turned the King's Clemency into a falfe Accusation against him; and the very Contrivers of the wicked Machine, were the first who bellowed out that it was big with a Popil Plot.

There were two things, which, like Circe's Cups, bewitched Men, and turned them into Brutes, viz. Popery and French Interest: and if either of these happened to be whispered in the House of Commons, they quitted their calm and moderate Proceedings, and ran immediately into Clamour and high Debates. If Men, otherwise sober, heard them once, it was sufficient to make them run mad. But when these things were laid aside, their Behaviour to his Majesty was with a becoming Modesty. And as at the beginning of the Session, no Parliament ever shewed more Loyalty and Obedience to the King, so no Artisices could make them entirely sorsake that Loyalty. If by chance they fell

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into hot Debates, yet so soon as their Passions subsided, they returned to themselves and their Duty; which they manifested in nothing more than granting Supplies, For a Seffion did not pass, in which they refused to give the King, with a free Spirit, as much Money as he was pleased to ask; and, perhaps, their Munificence made the King prodigal, who indeed was never looked upon as a parfimonious Man. For being naturally too liberal, and having fuch immense Sums of Money heaped upon him, could not govern himself, but gave too great a Loose to his Profuseness: and, I believe, nothing did the King fo much hurt, as that immense Subsidy of two Millions and an half, which the Parliament granted in 1664, to carry on the first Dutch War. From which time, having been accustomed to great Expences, and not apprehending that he should ever want Money, could not be brought to put a Check to his Profuseness. But to proceed.

When the Duke of Tork (Odober 20th, 1677) had, by his Proxy, betrothed the Dutchess of Modena, the Parliament petitioned the King to annul that Contract; upon which his Majesty prorogued them for fix Days, that by that time they might reflect with themselves how unhandfomly they had interfered with a thing that did not belong to them. But on the first Day of their Meeting, they did not only renew their Petition, but backed and confirmed it with Arguments. They faid, that if fuch a Marriage should be confumunated, it would greatly endanger the Protestant Religion; that it occasioned great Grief, and gave great Offence to his Majesty's Protestant Subjects; that it would oblige

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him to enter into Popist Alliances; that it had been found by Experience, that such Marriages had increased the Growth of Popery; that this Affair had already raised the Spirits of the Papifts too high; that they were not for diminishing the People of England's Affection towards the Duke of Tork, which was very great; but it was a miserable thing that the Nation should never be free from the Apprehension of Popery, with which they had been terrified for an hundred Years: and lastly, that the Dutchess had many Relations in the Court of Rome. The King, with a finiling Countenance, answered, (October 20th) that he was not a Pope, and therefore could not annul a Marriage that was performed according to the Law of Nations; that he wondered that they had not interpofed, when, not long fince, the Duke defired to marry the Dutchess of Viponts; and that Princes of the Blood had certainly as much Right to marry whom they pleased, as any other Persons. Having received this Answer, they were very much incenfed at it; and by untimely Advice (the House being in an uproar) they came to the three following Refolutions. I. That they would not grant one Penny to the King till the Proteftant Religion was fecured, by removing such Privy-Counfellors, as were Papifts. 2. That publick Prayers should be made to appeale the Wrath of Heaven, and keep off Popery: And, 3. That the Army, finall as it was, should be disbanded. Upon this the Parliament was prorogued to the 7th of January, Shaftesbury removed from the Chancellorship, and the Marriage was solemnized.

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On the 7th of January, 1674, the Parliament met, and the King acquainted them, that all his Endeavours to bring the Dutch to a Peace, had hitherto proved fruitles; that they laughed at all Terms of Accommodation; and when they pretended to treat feriously about them, they were making great Preparations for War. He therefore advised them to meet the Enemy in time; that he had a Fleet ready, if they would take care that the Sea-Men's Wages should be paid; and if they would put it into his Power to do this, he promifed to obtain an honourable Peace, which they themselves should approve. Otherwise the Dutch, who are a proud People, would impose such Terms upon him, being defenceless, as they pleased. That the only thing which made them, to a Man, averfe to Peace, was, that they had an Account from England, that the Parliament would not grant any Supplies; but if that vain Hope was taken away, he would eafily procure such a Peace, as they should defire.

But the Parliament did not regard what was faid concerning Peace and War; they laid Religion more to Heart than any thing else, which, as they said, was in more danger from the Papists, than the Kingdom was from the Dutch. That first of all a Day should be appointed for Humiliation and Prayer. Secondly, that every Man's Right and Liberty should be delivered from Tyranny; and that this could not be expected till such evil Counsellers were removed, as were then at the Head of Affairs. Lastly, that as the Rumour of a Popish Plot (raised by themselves for the Purpose) was in every Body's Mouth, they begged that the King would order all

all the Militia throughout every Country, and especially the Train-bands of London, to be in readiness to take the Field.

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This alarmed the People, whose Fear was greatly increased, when they heard that such Danger was nigh at hand, and yet could not tell from whence it came, or where it lay. law no Enemy at home, who was able to carry on a War, except every fingle Man could kill five hundred; for the Number of the Roman Catholicks did not exceed the Number of Protefants, nor did they apprehend that it would rain armed Men; but when they began to confider, that no Enemy could be fo near, except they came from beyond Sea, they were then struck with a dreadful Fear of a French Descent: by which Artifice they deluded the People, for they always joined the French to the Popils Interest, as if the one was to lay the Schemes, and the other to execute them; and if the Popile Cause wanted any Assistance, France was to carry it on by Force and Arms. By this Device, gross as it was, they kept the People for some Years in constant Fear; and there was scarce greater Uproars, when Hannibal was at the Gates of Rome. And, indeed, they had, for a long time, made themselves so familiar with these monstrous Fictions, that upon the first Discovery of Oates's Plot, they readily believed every thing he faid; for they had long expected, whatever he declared. Nay, they made the King's Authority fublervient to the carrying on this Force; for at their Importunities his Majesty continually issued Proclamations, commanding the Papilts to depart from the City, and his Subjects to quit the French Service. For they were an Army, which, if not Kk timely. timely disbanded, might, when Opportunity offered, return to the Destruction of their Country. And, indeed, they did not raife a less Fear from the English, than from the French Soldiers; for they gave out, that they were fent into France to be trained up in the Art of War, and then they might return in an hostile Manner to their own Country. When the King therefore perceived that there was a total Defection in the Parliament, and that all their Schemes tended to raise Hatred and Jealousy in the Minds of the People, he made a Peace (the Substance of which I have mentioned before,) upon more honourable Terms than they could expect, confidering their Obstinacy. Therefore he prorogued the Parliament, from the 24th of March, to the 10th of November following; and from thence by farther Prorogations to the 13th of April, 1675.

In the mean time, the Factious struck close to their Business; they scattered Sedition every where, bewitched the People's Minds with salfe Doctrine, augmented their own Strength; and, in a Word, aimed at this one thing, to fecure for themselves the People's Votes, if they should want them, at the next Election of Parliament-Men. They thought they had effectually done this; and as foon as the Parliament met, they confounded all their Deliberations and Proceedings with Jars, Disputes, and Controversies; so that no Measures taking effect during their Sitting, the King might be obliged to call a new Parliament, in which they did not doubt obtaining a vast Majority on their Side. This Design was. not fo fecretly managed, but it reached the King's Ear, who, in a Speech, which he made the first Day the Parliament sate, earnestly defired

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fired all honest Men to beware of it. But this was too late, the Infection had spread too far. Presently Debates (a thing never known before) arose in the House of Lords, whether, according Lords to Custom, an Address should be made to the Journal. King to return him thanks for his most gracious Speech; the Teas carried it, and the Factious opposed it; and that they might transmit to Posterity a Testimony of their Resulal, they entered their Protests in the Journals, and every one figned them by fubscribing his own Name. All they did in the House of Commons, were Motions for removing the King's Counfellers, for inflicting severer Punishments upon Papists, and dealing more moderately with the Non-Conformists; recalling the King's Subjects, who were in the French Service; for regulating the Exchequer; for putting the Fleet into a good Condition; and, in fhort, for changing every thing. Against these open Attempts to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, a Motion was made from the other Side of the House for a new Oath of Allegiance, by which every one, who enjoyed any Office of Profit or Trust, or should hereafter be chose a Member of Parliament, should be obliged to swear; " That it was unlawful to " refift the King upon any Pretence whatfoever; " that he abhorred and detested that damnable " Position, that it was lawful to take up Arms against the King's Person by his Authority, or " those that are commissioned by him; that, " laftly, he will not endeavour to make any Alteration in the State, whether Civil or Ecclefiaftical". This occasioned warm Speeches, which lasted many Days, and the Debates on both Sides never ran so high before. The Fac-Kk 2 tious

left the Privileges of the Lords should be impaired; fo that by this fudden Change the Queftion was dropped. And that it might never be brought again upon the Carpet, the Lords thus entered it into their Journals. "We the Peers " of this Kingdom do declare, that the Right of April 21st, 6 the Nobility, and the Custom of Parliament, " have been weakened by putting this Question: " for the Right which every one of us have of "Voting in Parliament does not depend upon " certain Conditions, but comes to us by De-" fcent; and it cannot fuffer any Loss but by " taking away the Honour of Nobility, which " can be done no otherwise than by being guilty " of High-Treason; that therefore they Protest, "by the Memory of their Ancestors, and the " Dignity of their Families, that they will ne-" ver fuffer the Privileges of the Nobility to " be called in Question". This Opposition was carried on with fuch Heat, that at last the whole Parliament, (the Factious having cast another Bone of Contention among them) being wearied, partly with Debates, and partly with an eager Defire to preserve their Liberty, lest by that Example their ancient Rights might be brought under new Restrictions, resolved, that no Motion be made, for the Future, to require a new Oath to be taken in Parliament. And, perhaps, this Resolution was not unseasonable; for the Lords cannot do any thing more praise-worthy, than

to exert themselves in taking care of the an-

cient Prerogatives of the Nobility: for if they

once suffer the least Alteration to be made, there

will be no end of making Innovations. But,

tious were inferior to the rest in Number; how-

ever, there were many who came over to them,

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Lords 1675. however, this Oath could not have affected their Rights, for it contained nothing more than was in the Oath of Allegiance. But fince the Presbyterians, though bound by that Cath, had rebelled against King Charles the First, by that crafty Evafion of feparating the King's Authority from his Person; it could not seem hard to any honest Man, who loved his Country, to guard against this treacherous Evasion, by obliging them to take this new Oath. The Factious very well knew to what End and Purpose it was calculated, and therefore strove hard to keep such a Gap always open, by which they might invade the Government; for no Man was ignorant, and least of all the Dissenters, that from the Restoration the same Oath was taken by every one, who had any Employment, and by many of the Nobility. For they themselves had chiefly the greatest Posts in the Militia, so that they had no Occasion to oppose it, if they had not had some sinister Designs in view. They would lessen the Monarchy, to increase their own, and the People's Power; and therefore could not bear to have it strengthened and defended by new Laws against their Attempts : as if they were considering how they should pursue the same Steps, by which they had been so successful against Charles the First; all that they feared was, that this Oath would ftop up the way, by which they were to carry on their Conspiracy. They were resolved, that the present Debate should be subfervient to their own Defigns, by perplexing thereby, and retarding the Progress of the King's Affairs; and they were the more intent upon this, that they might prevent their coming to any Resolution, so that the King being wearied with the ParParliament's not doing any thing for him, might therefore diffolve them; and if they could gain this Point, they did not doubt of having themfelves and their Party elected Members of the next Parliament, Besides, as the Debates, concerning the Rights of the Nobility, were not over, they renewed the old Dispute concerning the Privileges and Prerogatives of both Houses. This was carried on with great Warmth on both fides, and was the most memorable of any that ever happened in Parliament. The former Fire was begun tween Skinner and Bernardiston, in the Year 1668, which burned for a Year and an half, before it was extinguished. But this, as it lasted longer, fo it was carried on with greater Heat and Animosity; insomuch, that the Parliament, forgetting their Dignity, had almost proceeded to Blows. When the Factious found that they loft their Point concerning this new Oath, in the House of Lords, having been out-voted, and that they could not prevent the Bill from passing; they raifed this Dispute between the Lords and Commons, that while they were very intent upon this, they might drop the other. It happened beyond their Expectation, that the Point in Debate was not only adjourned, but quite loft; for when they had proceeded to very extraordinary Lengths, in carrying the Matter fo high, they unanimously resolved to drop the Question intirely, left while they were thus attacked without Doors, they might suffer from Divisions within. Nor, indeed, was the Dispute about a Matter of fmall Moment, it ftruck at the Prerogative of the Lords, their Right of receiving Appeals, which they had enjoyed time out of mind, and never had been called in Question before. The

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The Case between both Houses was this: a Suit in Chancery was begun between Sherley, a Doctor in Phyfick, and Fagg, a Member of the House of Commons; Sherley, against whom there was a Decree, appeals to the House of Lords, and Fagg was ordered to put in his Answer; who making Complaint thereof to the Commons, was ordered not to appear; however, he put in an Appearance, and obtained a longer time to answer. In the mean while, Sherley was ordered by the Commons to be taken into Custody, and being seized by their Serjeant at Arms, was forceably and tumultuously rescued by one of the Peers, who was a leading Man in the Faction, and who also tore the Order of the Commons. The Factious complained to the Lower House of the Insult offered to their Authority; and their Party in the Upper House cried out that the Proceeding was legal. The Commons, on the other hand, having put it to the Vote, refolved, that it was not to be fuffered; and the Lords declared, that they would never depart from their Rights. For they had come to this perpetual Resolution, that the Right of Appeals in all Causes lay before them, and that they had Power of giving Judgment therein, even tho' the Appellant or Respondent belonged to either House; that Justice might not be delayed even for a Moment. The Commons came to a Resolution on the contrary, fo that their Dispute running to an extravagant Height, the Factious brought new Appeals every Day. The Matter came to quarrelling and brawling, then to reproaching and taunting, and at last to Malice and Hatred. But the chief Fault which they laid at each other's Door, was, that they had designedly broke the Peace and Union between both Houses, on Purpole

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pose that their Meeting, for the Future, might be rendred fruitless. But the principal thing which they had in view, was, that they might provoke the King to dissolve them; but he was too well apprized of their Defign, and therefore deferred it. They still grew more angry, and came to fuch a Length, that both Houses torbid any Conferences with each other. Thus the Kingdom was. as it were, divided into two Governments; each House acted separately, and would not allow any Correspondence with one another. The Lords gave Judgment in Appeals; and the Commons ordered not only the Lawyers, who pleaded at the Bar of the House of Lords, but the Appellants also to be taken into Custody. The Lords order them to be discharged: and thus every one who obeyed either House, was sure of being confined for complying. The King interpoled in these distracted Affairs of the Kingdom, and defired, that they would refer the Matter to him, promising to judge impartially. He told them that it was no difficult Point, and that it had been defignedly begun by feditious Men in both Houfes, of which he had given them Notice at the Opening of the Seffion. That if they did not use all their Endeavours to put a Stop to their Defigns, the Authority and Use of Parliaments would come to nothing for the Future; and therefore he advised them to drop their Debates, and consult about what was necessary for the Welfare of the Kingdom. But this cool Advice increased the Flame, which breaking out of both Houses, feized the People, to whom both the Lords and Commons appealed in the Libels which they published. All Hopes of Peace being now cut off, the Parliament was prorogued from the 9th ot

of June to the 13th of October following; and when they met on that Day, the King earnestly defired them to lay afide their Debates concerning the Matter in Dispute, and go upon the Affairs of the Nation, for he wanted a Supply to build Ships immediately. Great Grievances, and heavy Complaints against the Growth of Atheism, French Interest, and Popery, were whifpered about among the Faction; they faid, that these things ought to be amended, and the Wrath of Heaven appealed by publick Prayers, before they took the State of the Kingdom into Confideration. But the Majority voted a Supply of three hundred thousand Pounds for building twenty first-rate Men of War. But when the Faction perceived, that all the Proceedings of the Commons feemed to have a fmooth Countenance, they, on a fudden, brought on again Sherley's Cause in the House of Lords; and the Debates thereupon were carried much higher than in the preceding Session. For now the Controverly was not concerning the Privileges of either House, but about the Liberties of the Subject; for the Question was changed into this, Whether they had a Right to appeal to the House of Lords? The Commons by their Resolution publickly declared, that they had not Any; and whoever Appealed was a Betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of England. and ought to suffer as a Traytor. The Lords were divided into feveral Opinions; and they who were fincere and well-affected moved to have the Question adjourned for fixWeeks. They faid, that they ought to take the difficult and important Affairs of the Kingdom into Confideration; and first, that a Supply ought to be granted

for the Navy, because every thing, both at home and abroad, would be in a desperate Condition, if we did not send out a Flect immediately; that the Confideration of the publick Affairs having been fo long postponed by thefe private Disputes, the Nation had thereby received great Damage; that if they would go upon them then, when they had finished them, they might re-affume their Debates concerning

the others, if they pleased.

But when, by their continual Disputes, the Faction had espoused Sherley's Cause, the same was brought on again by the Industry of their Party in the House of Commons: so that all Hopes of Accommodation being loft, the factious Lords moved to address the King to dissolve the Parliament. First, Because by the Law and Custom of England frequent Parliaments ought to be called. Secondly, That it was unreasonable that a few Men should, for so many Years, take to themselves a Power over all the People of England: and laftly, That continuing the same Parliament so long by often proroguing it, always gave Birth to Discord and Sedition. That they had too much Experience of this in the Case of Sherley and Fagg; so that all their Confultations were rendred abortive. It was resolved, by a Majority, that no fuch Address should be presented to the King; and thereupon the Faction entered and figned their Protests. There were such great Commotions in both Houses, (raised by the Faction,) that his Majesty resenting the Heinousness of the Thing, prorogued the Parliament for a Year and three Months. They met again on the 14th Day of December, 1676; and the King, accord-

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ing to Custom, graciously and courteously, but with a little Warmth, exhorted them to Unanimity; that they would not fuffer their old Difputes to be renewed, that they were shameful, and unbecoming the Dignity of Parliament; that they were begun and fomented by factious Men, to diffurb the Peace of the Kingdom. That the Welfare of the Nation ought to be their chief Care; nor should they go upon any other Business, till they saw their Country was safe and out of Danger. He promised them every thing that was good, if they would agree among themfelves, and that he would pass such Acts, as they should reasonably make for better securing their Religion and Liberties. Laftly, he called God and Man to Witness, that he should be innocent and blameless if the publick Affairs received any Detriment thro' their Discord and Sedition; and if they proceeded in that Manner, he would not bear fuch Outrages. The Factious were scarce returned to the House, when they began an Affault, as if they had come out of an Ambush. They said, that the Prorogation having continued beyond the Year, the Parliament was consequently dissolved; for by the Laws of England they were to meet Annually, and therefore as their Meeting was deferr'd longer, they were thereby diffolved; and that it was their Duty to dissolve themselves. At the same time the Rabble, in great Crowds, stopped all the Passages that led to the Parliament-House, and they were brought out of Wapping, a Place inhabited by the very Dreggs of the People, fuch as Porters, Sailors, Ship-wrights, Butchers, Coblers, Curriers, Rope-makers, and all kind of Smiths, and Mechanicks, a vast Multitude

tude in Number. The Demagogues or Mob-Mafter (for fo we call every chattering Peast-Monger) thought, by the riotous and tumultuous Proceedings of those Fellows at the Doors of both Houses. to strike a Terror into the Parliament, that they might rave with greater Infolence within the House. And if they should happen to succeed, then they had a Mob ready to roar and bellow about the Streets, that the Parliament was diffolved. For it was the conftant Custom of the Faction, to affemble fuch fort of Fellows, and talk with them about State-Affairs, and to treat them, that being drenched in Wine, their frantick Behaviour may appear with greater Zeal. By fuch Artifices the Rebellion against Charles the First was begun, in whose Footsteps they trod fo exactly, that they betrayed a Barrennessof Subtilty and Invention. For to follow always the fame Pattern, and not to form any thing new, manifests a dull and heavy Genius; and to dwell To long upon a thing that is fo well known, and fo fresh in every Man's Memory, is the greatest Sign of Folly; and this alone (at least in my Opinion) preserved the Kingdom from new Deftruction, because by the same thing it was deftroyed but a few Years before. But the Factious being fuch great Numbers of their own Party began to debate about the Dissolution of the Parliament, before they would fuffer the House to go upon any other thing. The Lords fo highly refented the Infolence of these Men, that they ordered them to ask Pardon; and when they refused it, four of them (for as yet no more had appeared) were committed to the Tower; and among these was the Earl of Shaftesbury. They were continued Prisoners for a Year,

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nor were they discharged till they asked Pardon upon their Knees. Their Party and Accomplices in the House of Commons being terrified at the Example which the Lords had fet, dropp'd the Question as suddenly, as if they had laid down their Arms: and a Stop being fo feafonably put to their tumultuous Proceedings, not only Peace and Tranquillity were reftored, but there was a good Harmony and Understanding between both Houses of Parliament. They granted a Supply of fix hundred thousand Pounds for building thirty Men of War; which, when the King had got it almost in his own Hands. he preserved with much Difficulty, and not without a great Struggle. For prefently a Difpute arose in both Houses about Privileges, and the Form of Words, which the Factious on both Sides fpun out into as great a Length as they could. When the Lords faw that there was no likelihood of putting an end to this Controverfy, they chose rather to part with their Power, than not to relieve the Kingdom, which was in fuch great Necessity. This Concession (that it might not be produced as a Precedent) was entered in their Journals the 16th of April, tho' fome of the Lords opposed it; and fuch was the Contumacy of the Faction, that they would not give over the Dispute, before this was done. Matters being thus fettled, the Faction earneftly perfuaded the King, the Parliament, and the People, to a War with the most powerful King of France: and, indeed, the War was not only just, but reasonable and necessary, and met with the Approbation of all good Men, and the King was before inclined to it of his own accord. The Provinces of Flanders are fituated

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fituated nearest to the British Seas; and these, for sometime, had been under the Jurisdiction of Spain, and were a Defence to the English. standing like a Castle between them, and a soreign Enemy. But by fudden and frequent Incursions, the French King had penetrated into these Parts, and took feveral Towns and Cities. There was no Enemy to oppose his Progress; the Spanjard was too weak to begin a War, having neither Men nor Money, and the Dutch being quite jaded by long Wars, complained, that they could not undergo another any longer. The English had harrassed them at Sea from the Year 1665, and the French by Land from the Year 1672; and having made a Peace with the English in the Year 1674, they were not very successful in their Battles with the French from that time. They had raised heavy Taxes to pay their own Troops, and they were also obliged to defray half the Charges of their Allies: and it was the King of England alone, who was capable of giving new Life to their Affairs, which were in a declining Condition, and almost ruined. But he must assist them in time, otherwise, a Province which might then be defended, would quickly be conquered. The King therefore was pleased with a War that was so just and neceffary; and in his Answer told them, that he would have begun it before, if he had had Money to bear the Expences of it; and therefore if they would grant him a Supply, he would not defer it a Day. They promised immense Sums of Money, but would not give one Penny; and the King declared, that he would not proclaim War, before they granted him a Supply of fix hundred thousand Pounds to pay his Army. They lugated

They did not fay that they would, or would May 21. not grant it; but put it off to the next Seffion; at which time, they refolved, That they could grant no Supply, until the King acquainted the House, that he had made an Alliance with the Dutch, and had declared War against France; and then they would confult of Ways and Means for defraying the Expences of the War; and if his Majesty should enter into an Alliance upon fuch Terms as were acceptable to them, that then they would affift him. The King was fo much incenfed at fuch new and May 28. unheard-of Stubborness, that he told them he would never fuffer so great an Affront: That the Power of making Peace and War was in him alone, and that they had nothing to do with it; that by their Proceeding they would take this Power from him, and oblige him not only to make fuch Alliances, but also upon fuch Terms, as they thought proper; that if they could gain this Point, he should be a Subject, and not a King, for the future; that he should be accountable to the Parliament; and have no more than the Shadow and empty Name of a King, not only among his own People, as well as among Foreigners. Upon this Jan. 28. the Parliament was prorogued, from time to 1678. time, for a Year; and when they met, the King told them in his Speech, that he had made an Alliance with the Dutch upon fuch Terms. as pleased him: then he required such Supplies as should enable him to defray the Charge of the War; and that less Forces would not be sufficient, than a Fleet of ninety Men of War, and an Army of thirty thousand Men at least: if they would make Provision for thefe.

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these, he did not doubt but the War would be prosperous; but that he would not enter into it with half an Army. Nevertheless, they not only go on as before, but, with the greatest Prefumption, proceed to diminish the King's Authority: Resolving, That the Confederates should not come into any other Terms of Peace, but those that were agreed to at the Pyrenean Treaty; and that all Correspondence with France shall be forbidden, not to the Allies only, but likewise to all the World; but as to a Supply for carrying on the War, not one Word was mentioned. The King, not able to bear their Arrogance, admonished them, with some Resentment, not to go on at that Rate; and told them plainly that he would not be trifled with, for they must immediately comply with his Commands, or he would lay aside all Thoughts of the Thus he obtained from them (but much against their Wills) the Supply, which he had been a whole Year in demanding, to carry on the War, which they themselves had put him upon. They granted a Million of Money for fitting out and Manning Ninety Sail of Men of War, and raising an Army of thirty thousand Men: for the Faction would come into any Meafures, rather than the War should not be carried Thus they always diffembled their Loyalty; first to push the King into a War, and when engaged therein, and diffressed for want of Money, to deliver him up as a Prey to his Enemy; which indeed they did at that very time, as much as lay in their Power. Having granted that Supply to begin the War, they refolved, that all Traffick with France should be forbidden for three Years; fo that by this the King would lose

lose more by the Deficiency of the Imports, than the Supply amounted to. Besides, tho' the French King on the other hand did fufficiently revenge this, by forbidding all Commerce with Britain for ten Years, yet they laid heavier Duties upon Goods imported from France, whether they were the natural Product of the Country, or only manufactured there; which generally tended not fo much to the Support of Life, as to the Gratification of Luxury and Pleafure, as Wine, Brandy, Silks, and Linnen; the Imports of which produced three hundred thousand Pounds yearly. They carried their Point by a new Artifice, viz. Tacking both Bills together; fo that if the King gained any thing by the one, he loft it by the other, for it was not in his Power to feparate them, but was under a Necessity of pasfing or rejecting both. As this was the first, fo it was the last Example of Tacking; for the King forbid the Parliament to use any fuch Method for the future. But this was not the only new thing which they had undertaken at that time, for they passed another Bill concerning Apparel, that every one should wear Woollen, of the Product of our own Country, for fix Months in every Year; by which there would be a great Loss not only in our Imports, but in our Exports also; and therefore the Lords flung out the Bill. But now the War was begun, and a Peace made with the Dutch upon honourable Terms; the Substance of which was, That there should be a perpetual Peace and Friendship between the King of Great-Britain and the States-General; that the League between them should be Offensive and Defensive; that there should not be any Ceffation of Arms, but by mutual Confent, or a *<u>feparate</u>* M m

separate Peace concluded; that they should join their Forces to endeavour to bring the Kings of Spain and France to a Peace: that France in the first Place should restore to the Spaniard all the Places in Flanders, taken in the War; and to the States General, and the Princes of Germany, all that were taken from them, particularly Friburgh, and the other Towns and Cities in the Province of Breflau; That Lorrain should be restored whole and entire to the Duke of that Name; and laftly, that either of those Monarchs, who should refuse fuch Terms of Peace as the King of Great-Britain would offer, he then should be compelled to accept them by Force and Arms. The King joyfully acquainted the Parliament with what he had so well obtained and provided; but they on a fudden (May 4.) refolved, contrary to every one's Expectation, that the Alliance was by no Means pleafing to them, nor was it for the Good of their Country. This incenfed the King to such a Degree, that two Days after he fent them a Message, commanding them to desist; nevertheless they proceeded as before, and with repeated Invectives complained of evil and corrupt Councellors, even to the Reproach of the King. His Majesty hardly gave them any Answer, but with great Warmth asked them, if they were Mad? and faid, that their unheard-of Infolence was fo great, that for his Part, he knew not what Name to give it: and upon this he adjourn'd them for a Fortnight.

But at the same time that the Dutch had drawn the King of Great-Britain into an Alliance, they treated of a separate Peace with the French, as if they had combined with the Factious: and when a Quadruple Alliance was on

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foot between the Emperor, the Spaniard, the Englift, and the Dutch, the States-General fent an Ambassador into England for that Purpose, but he wanted a sufficient Power to treat; and after a long Delay he received proper Instructions; but so much time was spent before this was done. that the French and the Dutch had clapp'd up a Peace. For the King of France having received Intelligence of the great Preparations England was making for War, and knowing that the Dutch were tired with it, voluntarily fent private Instructions to his Ministers then at the Congress of Nimeguen, to make a Peace with them. The other Confederates were highly provoked at fuch Baseness, and the Dutch were the only Persons who seem'd to comply. Thus the face of Affairs was changed, and they who were the first that came into the War, were also the first who sued for a Peace. The Confederates therefore complained in vain of their first Alliance, and the King of England of that which he had made; by which it had been mutually agreed that they should not enter into a separate Peace. But the Dutch would have a Peace upon any Terms, even tho' they descended so low as to have their Lives spared; and the French were resolved to attempt any thing that might break the Alliance, fince the King of England was come into it. The Affairs abroad being in this Condition, and the Faction deferting the King at home, the Interest of the Confederates was very much weakened by this fresh Wound, and quickly ruined. For the Dutch, pretending to have loft all hope of Succour from England, hastened on the Conclusion of the Peace they had premeditated, and the French King Mm 2 was was as eager to have it figned and ratified,

left they should change their Minds.

The King of England was irritated at a Change of Affairs, so apparently ludicrous; and complaining to the Parliament, and expostulating with them, faid, that by their repeated Importunities and Requests he had begun the War, and that they had now made a Jest not only of him, but of the Confederates, to the Prejudice of both: that he was ashamed to see so much Dishonour and Levity in his Subjects; that let the Event be what it would, he would clear himself from the Imputation of any Fault; and he advised them to confider what Peace could be made, when the Confederacy was broke, which could not eafily be renewed between so many Princes. If the Dutch, says he, have broke their Faith, and do make a separate Peace, they will plead our Inconstancy as an excuse; they will tell you, that they have been drawn into the Alliance by your Promises, that no Supplies should be wanting for carrying on the War, till the most Christian King should be obliged to accept a just Peace. But when they shall have found that all your Counsels are changed into Jarrs and Debates about Religion, and that you will not grant a Supply till they are ended, (tho' they will never have an End) when they shall be affured that the Royal Prerogative has been violated by your prefumptuous Demands, which are not to be borne; what wonder is it that they should make Peace upon the best Terms they could obtain, while there was an Opportunity of doing it; especially when they had no Expectation of any Succour from England, at whose Nod almost, while there was an Union among you at home,

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the Hope and Fortune of all Europe depended. But when the Dutch have made a feparate Peace, the Confederacy will be broke to Pieces; for the Spaniard cannot be able to carry on the War in Flanders; nor the Emperor in Germany, when the Dutch and Spaniard have withdrawn from him; nor, indeed, can the Duke of Lorrain, the King of Denmark, and the Elector of Brandenburgh, be a Match for the Enemy, but must accept such Laws, as he shall please to prescribe. The Fault therefore would lie at their Doors, if the Peace of Europe should be fnatched away, when they had it almost in their Hands. He told them, that if they were the first that would shew the bad Example, that then all the Confederates would fall off, one after another. That they should either have carried on the War longer, or never have begun it; for as the Matter was managed by them, it was a Jest and a Fraud to all Europe. Before this, every one might have made Peace for himfelf, now each of them is fingly exposed to the Enemy, and must submit to what he shall impose upon them. That they had not betrayed their Allies only, but themselves likewise, for they had provoked a most powerfulking, and they were not a Match for him without the Confederates, much less when they were divided among themselves. Laftly, that whatever Misfortunes should happen to themselves or their Allies, that he indeed should bear his Share, and they the Difgrace of them. He therefore advised them, to put a Stop for a little while at least to their Disputes; for all things feemed to tend to Peace: A Truce was made, which he perfuaded himself would end in Peace, if they would be true to themselves, and

and not lay down their Arms; for no honourable Terms were to be expected but by Sword in Hand; that therefore the Fleet must not be laid up, nor the Army disbanded, till the Peace was concluded, nor would he do either until

that should be accomplished.

May . 27.

very Day, that the King should immediately begin the War, or disband the Army: but his Majesty answered, that he would not do any fuch thing till the Truce was expired, and therefore demanded a Supply to enable him to pay

Hereupon they came to a Resolution that

May 30.

his Soldiers. Nothing was to be heard in the House on the next Day when they met, but that the Army should be disbanded immediately: at which the King was highly incenfed, and upbraided them with their Malepertness con-

cerning the Forces in Flanders; and faid, he would not deal fo basely and treacherously with his Allies, as to quit those Towns and Cities, which were under his Protection, until they could fend

other Troops to defend them: for if he did fo, he should not only desert those Places, but forfeit his Royal Word, and be no longer a Guaran-

tee. Upon this they granted a Month's Pay for the Troops in Flanders, and began to infift more eagerly upon disbanding the Army; but

the King answered, that though they made ever fo great a Clamour, he would neither disband the Army, nor lay up the Fleet, while a Peace was fo uncertain: for it would be an everlaft-

ing Stain upon England, to make fuch a dangerous Experiment for the fake only of faving a

little Money. That to lay down their Arms, before every thing had been fettled, and a Peace

made, was without Precedent; that if the Ar-

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my was disbanded, the Enemy would impose what Terms he pleased; and if a Peace should be made, and no Forces kept on foot, he might break that Peace, whenever he had a Mind to it; if therefore this Opportunity be loft, it may never be recovered, for there is very little difference between being defenceless and conquered: that the Interest of Europe, which had been hitherto preserved by so much Toil and Labour, would, through their Cowardlinese, be utterly destroyed in one Moment. That for his Part, he would never defert his Allies, but would either obtain an honourable Peace, or carry on the War; therefore, whether they granted a Supply or not, he was refolved to accomplish by his Arms, if he could not by his Councils, the Matter which he had managed hitherto fo fuccesfully.

The Parliament, on the other hand, refolved June 15. to grant a Supply to pay off the Army, and no other: but as all things tended more and more every Day to a Peace, the King told them that he would not disband the Army; for tho a Peace was made, the Spaniard would not be able to defend Flanders; that unless England June 18. took it into her Protection, it would lie naked and exposed, and become a Prey to every Enemy; that let it cost what it would, it should never be given up by him; and that it would have been taken long before if he had not defended He defired them to confider, that the French had made themselves Masters of Oftend, and the Harbour was fo commodious, that they had a Fleet of forty Ships therein, and that it was fituated opposite to the Mouth of the Thames; and what would not they give to drive fuch a dangerous Enemy farther off? He would also have

them

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them reflect, what Glory it would be to Great-Britain, to have fitted out a Fleet of ninety Men of War, and to have raifed an Army of thirty thousand Men, in forty Days; by which alone the whole Fortune of Europe was changed. If therefore they had any Value for the Dignity of his Crown at home, or for his Superiority of Power in negotiating Affairs abroad; if they defired that a happy End should be put to the War with the Algerine Pirates; if they would have the Remainder of their Lives attended with Peace and Tranquility if they would have him repole any Truft and Confidence in his Parliaments for the future; they should take care that his Exchequer should never be destitute of its usual Supplies: and that they should make an Addition of three hundred thousand Pounds to his Revenue; otherwise, he could never be able, as King of England, to Support the necessary Expences of his Government. The only Answer his Majesty received, was, that they would never grant the Sum he demanded; and it was carried in the Negative, Noes 202, Teas 1452 thus the Factions out-voted the loyal Members by a Majority of 57; and they only granted a Supply of fix hundred thoufand Pounds for disbanding the Army, which with much Difficulty and Struggling they brought to bear, for their usual Disputes were raised every Day between two Houses. But the King having passed the Act for granting this Supply on the 25th of July, the Parliament was prorogued to the 1st of August; from thence to the 19th, and farther on to the 1st of October, at which time his Majesty laid Oates's Conspiracy before the Parliament.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

